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## Near East/South Asia Report

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7 June 1984

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIAN TERRORISTS ARRESTED IN TEHRAN REPORTEDLY WILL BE HANGED

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 31 Mar 84 p 1

[Article: "Many Armenians in Iran Are Under Surveillance"]

[Text] It is reported that the Iranian police, following the attacks against Turkish embassy officials in Tehran, have imposed harsh punishment on the perpetrators.

According to information which has reached Ankara from Tehran, a great many Armenians have been placed under surveillance on the basis of the confessions made by the seven arrested Armenian terrorists. Iranian government agencies are engaged in an intensive effort in order precisely to determine which Iranian faction it is that supplies ASALA with arms and material assistance.

Diplomatic circles in Ankara report that the Armenian terrorists arrested in Iran will be sentenced to death at a single court session. Inasmuch as Iran is presently at war, and an attack organized against a friendly country is considered tantamount to treason, high authorities in Iran have warned the Armenians to be cautious about undertaking anything against Turkey and have advised that the terrorists may promptly be hanged.

The same sources report that ASALA, having heard that the arrested terrorists will be sentenced to death, has announced, in order to apply pressure to public opinion, that they will place bombs on aircraft flying to Turkey.

As a consequence of this, security measures have been beefed up around the Turkish Embassy in Tehran and at apartments housing embassy officials. Officials of the Turkish Embassy in Tehran have informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that they have been given superior police protection to what they had expected.

8817

CSO: 4605/59

POLITICAL LEADERS EXPRESS SKEPTICISM OVER NASIRIST PARTY MOTIVES

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 218, 14-20 Apr 84 pp 10, 11

[Article by Nawwal Mustafa: "AL-MAJALLAH Asks Three Egyptian Figures about the Return of the Nasirists"]

[Text] What would happen if the Egyptians woke up one morning to news announcing the elimination of political parties? Such a development might appear not to be at issue now, in view of the widespread state of political activity in Egypt. Nonetheless, there still is an appeal in Egypt for a return to a single party. What would be the anticipated reaction to such an appeal? Where would the democratic experience in Egypt be headed, in 1984 especially, as a result of such an appeal? For Egypt and the people of Egypt, this year represents a vital, important point. It is the year of elections, which President Husni Mubarak asserts must be 100 percent neutral and clean. This in itself, for Egypt and its people, constitutes an approach toward attainment of the dream it has long held, and still does hold, the dream of real democracy. Last week (issue 216) AL-MAJALLAH presented a question on who would win in the Egyptian elections: the Nasirists or the al-Sadatists? Herewith are other reactions to this question, especially as regards the return of the Nasirists.

In the healthy new political atmosphere which is dominated by the nature of movement and activity among the six parties that now exist in Egypt (the ruling National Democratic Party and the five opposition parties, the Socialist Labor, Socialist Liberal, National Progressive Unionist Grouping, al-Ummah and New Wafd Parties), the Nasirists, as they call themselves out of affiliation with the late Egyptian leader Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, made their appearance lately, and submitted their papers to the Committee on Parties in order to be given a permit to form a new party, the Nasirist Party. What happened?

The Committee on Parties rejected the formation of the new party. In the reasons for its rejection, it was cited that the program the Nasirists submitted to the Committee on Parties did not include agreement to the presence of a number of political parties in Egypt, but rather called for an alliance of the working forces of the people within a single party comprising all classes, orientations and opinions. The matter did not stop at that point.

The subject was presented to the administrative judiciary, so that it could look into the degree of constitutionality in the establishment of this party, whose program is considered a violation of the constitution and the Law on Parties. The matter is still pending, while waiting for the judiciary's statement.

In this area, AL-MAJALLAH sought to find the answer to a group of questions which have arisen on this issue, among them:

Is it possible for all people who call themselves Nasirists to gather together under the banner of a single party?

Is it possible for such a party to speak for a specific idea or a whole class?

What can such a party, if it is destined to exist, offer the democratic experience in Egypt?

Is it anticipated that it will yield up a new idea or a specific notion by which it will be able to remedy Egypt's basic problems, which are now urgent ones?

Seeking the answer to these questions, AL-MAJALLAH met the great writer, Mr Mustafa Amin, and Dr Muhammad 'Asfur, a great scholar of the law, who has become famous for embracing the causes of freedoms in Egypt, especially political freedoms, and has won all the cases he has taken on, most important of which, in the most recent period, was the case of the elimination of the appointed Lawyers' Union council, in which he obtained a ruling that this measure was unconstitutional. He was also an attorney for Muhammad 'Ali Salih, a professor at the Faculty of Engineering, in the suit the latter filed against Jamal Anwar al-Sadat concerning cheating in examinations. In addition, he has numerous important writings on the law and politics. The most recent case he won was that of the New Wafd Party's resumption of activity. We also met with Mr Mustafa Kamil Murad, chairman of the Socialist Liberal Party.

#### With Its Errors before Its Glories

Mr Mustafa Amin answered AL-MAJALLAH's queries by stating, "I welcome the presence of a Nasirist party, so that they can become aware of their true value in the country. I believe that the blunder a group of them has committed is that they asked for the return of Nasirism with its errors before its glories." Mustafa Amin went on to say, "They want the return of torture, the return of the rule of the individual, the return of the concentration camps, sequestrations and confiscations, the change in the name of Egypt and the elimination of the name of Egypt, as they eliminated it before."

Mustafa Amin said, "In addition, they want the Egyptian people to lose the right to speak out, although the only difference between man and animals is that man is an animal that speaks and the day he is deprived of the right to speak out, he is transformed into just an animal. They defend all the mistakes as if they are trying to attribute all the crimes that occurred in

'Abd-al-Nasir's era to him. I believe that this is the greatest abuse to the memory of 'Abd-al-Nasir."

[Question] Do you expect that they will get seats in the coming elections?

[Answer] They could get a majority if they took power, shut down the parties and papers, put the Egyptians in concentration camps and set up gallows. If they did all this, they would have a majority. I consider that the real leaders of the party are not present. These include people whom God has taken unto himself, such as Salah Nasr, Hamzah al-Basyuni, the director of the Military Prison, and Ahmad Nur, the chief of military police. They also include Shams Badran, who is in London.

[Question] What do you expect their influence on the experience with democracy in Egypt will be?

[Answer] In the past they demanded evacuation, and there has been an evacuation. One of their glories is that they handed Sinai over to Israel.

[Question] What statement would you direct to this party if it actually came into being?

[Answer] I would tell them, you will have popularity among people who have not learned history, and if all the Egyptians lose their memory. Let them know that this country wants freedom, democracy and human rights. I believe that the reason for all the misfortunes that we are going through now is that the Egyptians were deprived of human rights for 20 years. I also believe that if they form a party, their symbol in the elections will be the gallows, and they will put up pictures of Hamzah al-Basyuni or Salah Nasr. Finally, I can tell them that the country now will not accept one-man rule.

#### Things in Common

We moved on to Dr Muhammad 'Asfur, and asked him, "Have the Nasirists joined together in a single group, or are they divided among themselves?" He answered as follows:

"In reality, there are numerous tendencies among those who call themselves Nasirists, but there are things in common to them all, for instance, the glorification of 'Abd-al-Nasir. I believe that this is an abstract platform, not one based on a philosophy or theory. The noteworthy thing is that while a number of parties have come into existence, they are calling for a single party. Their program includes the elimination of the parties, which would be replaced by an alliance of the working forces of the people. Article Five of the Egyptian constitution was amended in 1977 to stipulate the presence of a number of parties rather than the alliance of the working forces of the people within a single party, which was the Arab Socialist Union."

Dr Muhammad 'Asfur went on to say, "It is well known that if ordinary legislators violate the constitution in favor of freedom or the expansion of freedom, although their legislation appears to be in violation of the constitution it actually corresponds to or is in keeping with the spirit of the



constitution itself, as long as it leaves a door open for freedoms and for new legislation to enlarge these freedoms, not constrict them. I consider the notion of a party which speaks for a class to be an erroneous one which has been transmitted to us from Marxist literature. We are totally alien to it. For example the Wafd Party, before the revolution, included members from various sectors and classes. It included capitalists, government employees, workers and industrialists. There was nothing to prevent the party from representing or speaking for all these classes. If we look at the democratic countries, we will find that in America, for example, in the two major parties, the Democratic and Republican Parties, there are groups from various classes of the society, and there is nothing to prevent a specific group from having a majority in the party which is closer to its principles and speaks for them. Therefore I consider that we must rule out the notion of a party that speaks for a class. The party speaks for different social classes, unless it is a party for the peasants, for example. On the basis of this notion, we find that even the British Labor Party, for instance, speaks not just for the workers but for all groups."

Dr 'Asfur added, "If the Nasirists do not express an idea, what is Nasirism? There is no doctrine by the name of Nasirism. However, we in Egypt are afflicted by a disease known as the disease of leadership. We sanctify leaders just as the old Egyptians sanctified the pharaohs. We also sanctify dead men and presidents."

I am a Liberal

The conversation then moved on to Mustafa Kamil Murad, the chairman of the Socialist Liberal Party, who answered our questions by stating, "The Nasirists' party is founded on the existence of the single party which was dominant in the period of the late leader Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, which was called the Liberation Rally (1953-57), then the Socialist Union [sic] (1957-1963), then the Arab Socialist Union (1963-1975), after which the political podiums appeared, then the political organizations, then the political parties, in November 1976."

Murad continued his statement by saying, "Ten years after the revolution occurred, the National Conference of the Working Forces of the People approved the National Action Charter, in May 1962. With the approval of the charter, Egypt became a democratic socialist country, since the charter was approved in the wake of the nationalizations that occurred in July 1961, when the revolution nationalized most of the major companies and factories in the country. The situation required the establishment of a unified political organization so that it would be possible to carry through the application of socialism and the principle of the working forces of the people in the form of workers, peasants, intellectuals, soldiers, and domestic capitalists. In the context of the unified political organization, which comprised the alliance of the working forces of the people, elections took place from the base to the top. Of course there were political currents within this unified organization, some leftist, some moderate socialist, and these tendencies took concrete form when they came together with a clash between the liberal current in the unified organization, under the leadership of Anwar al-Sadat and his comrades, and the leftist current in the

Socialist Union, under the leadership of 'Ali Sabri and his colleagues. These tendencies then assumed concrete form, after the corrective revolution, in three political parties, the Liberal Party (the moderate socialist tendency), the Egypt Party (the centrist socialist tendency), and the Grouping Party (the leftist socialist tendency). After al-Sadat's declaration of the establishment of the National Democratic Party in 1978, the members of the Egypt Party joined it. In 1978 the Socialist Labor Party also appeared, under the leadership of Ibrahim Shukri, as a non-extremist socialist party (left of center and to the right of the Grouping). Then after that there appeared the New Wafd Party, which is a liberal right-wing party, then the al-Ummah Party, an Islamic party. The two most recent parties did not emerge from 'Abd-al-Nasir's unique political organization, as I stated."

#### We Are All Nasirists

Mustafa Kamil Murad continued his statement by saying, "The Nasirists represent a political current which adopted 'Abd-al-Nasir's name as a symbol for itself, adhering to his system and political program which was dominant in Egypt for a period of 18 years (1952-1970). The Committee on Political Parties refused to give agreement to the party, because its program was considered a violation of the constitution, as it was not compatible with the presence of a number of parties, as stipulated in the constitution."

[Question] Do you believe that they will come up with something new in their political thinking to remedy Egypt's issues now?

[Answer] 'Abd-al-Nasir's system is now a historic stage. No one thinks, for example, of creating a party bearing the name of Napoleon Bonaparte. I would like to say that we are Nasirists, Khalid Muhyi-al-Din and I were free officers and among the founders of the July 1952 revolution, and we called for these principles and embraced these currents which we declared as political programs for our parties when we were permitted to form parties. I believe in moderate socialism, which is based on narrowing the differences among classes, but I was not one of those who urged expanded nationalization. However, I do believe that the people who want to form a Nasirist party now have no great political past; therefore, I consider that their program is not serious in content and is not integrated, because it must touch upon all issues and problems and must offer a complete notion of the political, economic and social conditions behind the basic problems, which are of concern to all classes, not a single class or single group in the society. For example, they must offer a practical conception of a solution to the problems of services, education, industry, agriculture, transportation, customs and other problems for whose solution our people need concentrated efforts and long-range political thinking.

Mustafa Kamil Murad added, "Therefore, I do not expect that they will be able to form a party which has an integrated political program that accepts the presence of a number of parties and does not conflict with the constitution and the Law on Parties. The important point which I consider will be the focal point of dispute among them is embodied in who will speak in their name. Will it be Kamal Ahmad, or will 'Ali Sabri, Sha'rawi Jum'ah, and Diya'-al-Din Dawud consider him part of their children's generation and not a genuine Nasirist?"

Thus AL-MAJALLAH has attempted to observe this new phenomenon, which has appeared suddenly in the Egyptian political firmament and has added an unexpected, uncalculated potential development to the course of the democratic experience in Egypt. The Egyptian political public is still waiting, anxiously, enthusiastically and with true desire for change, development and greater freedom, for the result of the political contest, and who will kick the ball into the goal.

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CSO: 4504/264



POLL ASSESSES RESPONSIBILITY FOR LEBANON DEBACLE

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 218, 14-20 Apr 84 pp 30-32

[Article by Dr 'Ali-al-Din Hilal: "A Poll in Which People in Liberal Professions Participated: Egyptian Public Opinion Determines the People Responsible for the Lebanese War"]

[Text] Due to the resignation of Shafiq al-Wazzan's cabinet and the fragmentation of some units in the Lebanese army as a result of the AMAL movement's appeal to Shiite soldiers in that army not to take part in the fighting, the alliance between the Druzes and the Shiites, the declaration by the United States at the end of last February of what it called the redistribution of its forces and withdrawal of the marines from their positions in Beirut to the ships stationed before the Lebanese coast, then the escalation of the fighting, the Shiite takeover of the positions the American forces evacuated, President Amin al-Jumayyil's trip to Damascus, the declaration of the termination of the 17 May agreement signed with Israel under United States mediation and support, and the start of the second round of the conference of national dialogue among the Lebanese forces -- due to the rapid emergence of these events, the Egyptian public opinion poll this week will revolve around these developments. Herewith is a report on this poll.

The sample whose responses represent the material for this analysis consists of 41 persons, who are distinguished by a high degree of homogeneity. They have all obtained university degrees (a bachelor's degree) with the exception of one person, who has a master's degree in sociology. They are all men, also, except for four women (9.7 percent), and the great majority of them (82.92 percent) are in their twenties or thirties. In terms of vocational breakdown, the greatest group consists of journalists (13 persons), followed by lawyers (10), then doctors (eight), teachers (six), engineers (three) and female researchers (one).

When the persons in the sample were asked "Who is responsible for the deterioration of conditions in Lebanon in the recent period?" and were given the right to choose among a number of answers -- that is, the belligerent Lebanese groups, Israel, the United States, Syria, the Soviet Union, and others -- the persons were left with the freedom to add countries or other groups they considered suitable. The first choice was distributed between Israel

(46.34 percent) and the belligerent Lebanese groups (36.58 percent), and the second choice was also distributed between Israel (62.17 percent) and the belligerent Lebanese groups (26.08 percent). The third choice was distributed between Syria (60 percent) and the United States (35.71 percent).

These responses show that the primary responsibility for the deterioration of conditions in Lebanon in the view of the respondents can be attributed to Israel and the belligerent Lebanese groups; this appears clearly in the first and second choices (see the accompanying table). On the other hand, they view the United States and Syria as auxiliary elements, though not responsible to the same extent as Israel and the Lebanese groups, so that we can observe that neither of them appears clearly as a first or second choice, but they do appear clearly as a third choice. We also can observe that approximately one tenth (12.19 percent) considered all these forces essentially responsible. In their responses these people have perhaps expressed the notion of the interlinkage of the scope of the parties to the Lebanese war.

#### Was America Defeated?

When they were asked whether President Reagan's decision to withdraw the marines from Beirut should be considered a defeat for American policy, the respondents were split, with 51.21 percent responding in the affirmative, while a corresponding proportion, 46.58 percent, replied that they were unsure.

We must pause here to explain this large percentage of answers that were unsure how to evaluate this decision, specifically, in comparison with what has been published in most American and European newspapers, which called it a defeat, an avalanche and the end of the American gamble in Lebanon. The HERALD TRIBUNE, for instance, pointed out that there has not been a failure or error similar to the one which Reagan committed in Lebanon in the history of American politics, while others compared it to America's error in Vietnam or Iran. Also underlining this evaluation is the followup and evaluation of official statements justifying the refusal to recommend the withdrawal of these forces. On 1 February, when Thomas O'Neill, the Democratic majority leader in the Senate [sic], recommended such a withdrawal, Reagan said: "That is surrender, a hard blow to expectations for peace in the area and extreme damage to American policy in all areas of the world." Before that, Lawrence Eagleburger, the deputy secretary of state, who had played a basic role in the negotiations that led to the revival of the strategic agreement between America and Israel, said, "It is in our ability to bring our boys back home immediately, but the extreme danger in this conduct is the encouragement and escalation of the crisis. This might compel us to bring them back there again under more dangerous circumstances.... The best way to deal with Damascus is to let it know that it is not possible to smash the will of the United States."

Robert MacFarlane, the national security advisor, wrote an article in the WASHINGTON TIMES (26 January) to the same effect, saying "The withdrawal of the multinational forces will not solve the problem but rather will make it worse. That will lead to further instability, and will reduce the chances

for peace between Israel and its neighbors. It will threaten the security of Israel and lead to greater intervention from the Soviet Union. The continued presence of these forces will give the adversaries of the United States the impression that conciliation is better than confrontation." Therefore, by looking at this series of statements and various justifications, which assert that the presence of these forces in Lebanon is in the vital interests of the United States and that their withdrawal will shake the image and reputation of America in the whole world, President Reagan's decision to withdraw them, regardless of the official description, which is the redistribution of forces, has been explained as a change in American orientations and a desire on the part of the leadership not to become further implicated during the election year.

It is most likely that we can explain the high percentage of "unsure" [responses] by the position of the Egyptian press and the official media, which have not emphasized the notion of the American defeat in Lebanon.

[Table] Who Is Responsible for the Deterioration of Conditions in Lebanon?

Responsible Party	First Choice	Second Choice [percent]	Third Choice
Israel	46.34	61	--
Belligerent Lebanese Parties	36.58	25	14.28
United States	4.8	2	35.71
Syria	--	10	50
Soviet Union	--	2	--
All These Forces	12.19		

#### Mistakes and Occasions

In reality, American policy in Lebanon has erred more than once and on more than one occasion. It erred first of all in its conception of the Lebanese problem and its belief that it was a military matter that could be resolved through the "big stick" and the creation of a trained Lebanese army, and it ignored the political and social aspects and historic relations among the Lebanese factions and the fact that what Lebanon needs is a new political and social formula which will express the new balances in the society, after the passage of approximately 40 years since the understanding which was reached in 1943, whose result was the formation of the system which dominated Lebanon up to now. It erred second of all when it looked at the problem basically in terms of the struggle between East and West, with Syria representing Soviet interests in the region, so that it had to be fought and stood up to. It erred third of all in introducing its forces into the armed struggle in Lebanon. These forces were gradually transformed from peacekeeping forces, or forces separating the belligerents, into combat forces

intervening to support one group against another. It erred fourth of all by linking the wheel of American policy to Israeli policy, and encouraging the Lebanese president to continue along the road of the 17 May agreement which the national forces and Syria had rejected, considering its abrogation a condition for resuming the dialogue with the Lebanese government.

#### What Is the Solution?

In another area, great enthusiasm and strong support was manifested for the French recommendation that forces belonging to the United Nations be brought into Lebanon in place of the multinational forces. The largest majority in this poll (90.24 percent) responded by supporting this recommendation. An almost equal majority (88.89 percent) ventured to state that the Soviet Union, on grounds that it is a member of the Security Council, would agree to this recommendation, contrary to what actually happened and although the phrasing of the question pointed out explicitly that the Soviet Union had rejected this recommendation before. Only four (9.75 percent) responded that the Soviet Union would reject the recommendation. It is most likely that the enthusiasm for this recommendation might perhaps reflect Egyptian interest in it and President Mubarak's personal support for it.

The analyses point out that the Soviet Union has not supported this recommendation but has imposed a number of conditions [to be met] before the sending of a force belonging to the United Nations, such as the prior withdrawal by the four Western countries of their forces from Lebanon, the withdrawal of the American fleet from Lebanese territorial waters, nonintervention in Lebanon's internal affairs, and the need for the belligerent Lebanese forces to agree to that.

The answers of the individuals in the sample were divided with respect to other resolutions and recommendations besides the French recommendation, which enjoys great support. With respect to the recommendation of the Druzes and Shiites of the need for the resignation of President Amin al-Jumayyil, whom Walid Jumblatt has considered an obstacle to national reconciliation, and whom Nabih Barri has mentioned he considers responsible for the slaughters the army has carried out, in his capacity as its supreme commander, demanding that he resign to give another Maronite president an opportunity to get Lebanon out of its crisis, the majority replied that it was not sure about this resolution (53.65 percent), while 36.58 percent were in favor of the recommendation and 9.75 rejected it.

One of the respondents commented by saying "The problem does not lie in the person of al-Jumayyil or anyone else but first of all in agreeing over a new political formula. After that, we can agree or disagree over the person of the president, whoever he might be."

We can find a corresponding split in positions on the withdrawal of the Syrian forces from Lebanon as an element in the restoration of its stability: 48.78 responded by agreeing to withdrawal at the same time as the Israeli forces, while exactly the same percentage responded by agreeing to withdrawal, but after the full withdrawal of the Israeli forces. No two people were in favor of a unilateral Syrian withdrawal. One of the responses



expressed reservations by saying that a simultaneous withdrawal was the only practical solution, because no one would in practice be able to remove Israel except within this formula, although it is not possible to deal with the Syrian presence and the Israeli occupation as if they were the same thing.

We find this split in regard to the withdrawal of Israel from southern Lebanon: 31.7 percent replied that it would withdraw, a corresponding percentage mentioned that they were not sure or did not know the answer, and 36.58 percent answered that it would not withdraw but would prolong its military presence.

#### The Political System

As regards the optimum political form for the regime in Lebanon, the answers were also split among those who advocated a return to the regime that prevailed before the outbreak of the civil war (43.90 percent), a small proportion (12.19 percent) who supported the establishment of a federal system which would give each faction a degree of intrinsic autonomy, and no one favoring the notion of splitting Lebanon up into statelets.

What is the best form of government? The answers were as follows: the situation prior to the war, 43.90 percent, a united Lebanon without factional discrimination, 43.90 percent, a federal union system, 12.19 percent, and partition, zero.

It is worth pointing out that the Lebanese national forces also rejected the notion of the federal solution, power for the regions, or any form of partition for Lebanon. Nabih Barri has warned that the unity of Lebanon, with its Moslems and Christians, was not open to discussion or subject to opinion, and that to that end he was ready to declare a hundred years' war.

I cannot find anything better with which to conclude this analysis than the notion the British writer Patrick Seale mentioned in a recent article he wrote, in which he stated that the Lebanese crisis was a reflection of a greater crisis, the crisis of the Arab system and the crisis of Arab-Arab relations.

The recent events in Lebanon point to the failure of the American-Israeli partnership as an effective instrument for administering the affairs of the region, because any system of relations that ignores Syria's interests in Lebanon or imagines the imposition of its military will alone, in the absence of an accepted political formulation, is doomed to collapse. That was the fate of the 17 May agreement.

## MINISTER OF INTERIOR DISCUSSES PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3107, 27 Apr 84 pp 22-26, 70-71

[Interview with Hasan Abu Basha, minister of interior, by Yusuf al-Qa'id, Sulayman 'Abd-al-'Azim and Rabi' Abu al-Khayr: "How Can We Guarantee Impartial Elections When You Are One of Candidates; Which Is Stronger in National Party: Conservative Forces or Forces for Change: Issue of Liberals: It Is Not in Egypt's Interest to Exaggerate Something That Does Not Exist" in Cairo; date not specified]

[Text] If [Every] Minister of Interior Were to Resign Because of Incident, There Would Not Be Single Minister of Interior in World; Incident of (al-ahraz) Has No Political Dimension; It is Individual Act Aimed at Material Gain and We Have Gotten Hold of Its Threads; Exclusive News: National Party Will be Rebuild on New Bases Compatible with President Mubarak's Instructions and Principles, and All Party's Organizations Will Be Completed; It Is Natural for Cabinet Reshuffle to Take Place after Elections; Minister's District: I Don't Head List in My District; It Is Headed by Worker; My Candidacy in Elections Does Not Violate Parliamentary Traditions with Which We Are Concerned; Regarding Elections: There Is No Problem Insofar As Transporting Ballot Boxes from Subcommittees to Public Committee Is Concerned; I Challenge Those Who Say There Has Been No Equality between National Party and Other Parties"]

"We have done this before."

These were the words Maj Gen Hasan Abu Basha uttered upon entering the main meeting hall in Dar al-Hilal, with a smile preceding his words. He shook hands with those present twice, once upon arrival and another time upon departure 3 hours later.

This was actually the second time in 9 months in which the man came to us and it so happens that Egypt's energetic democracy dictates that the subject of discussion in both interviews be the same: Egypt's elections.

Rather, the main topic in both interviews has, despite the long period separating them, taken the form of a sharply pointed question. In the first

interview, which took place last August, we asked Abu Basha: Who will guarantee the neutrality of the police in the coming elections?

This time, the distance separating us from Abu Basha abounded with numerous questions, led by a fundamental question:

How can we guarantee the neutrality of the elections when you are one of the candidates?

The word "neutrality" occurs in both questions, meaning that it has been one of AL-MUSAWWAR's main concerns in both interviews.

The interview lasted 3 hours, even though the man's time is charged with numerous duties. It was difficult for him to come to us, and the interview had to be postponed three times. Even when he came, he had to come directly from the 45th meeting of the NDP [National Democratic Party] which discussed the party election lists.

We asked Abu Basha: Why have you nominated yourself in al-Jizah and what is your relationship with this district? Have you resigned from your position, as the opposition circles say? What are the actual limits and dimensions of the (al-ahraz) issue, why should a judicial official not head the General Elections Committee and what are President Mubarak's thoughts and instructions regarding the elections? We also asked him: When will the special laws be abolished, the ban on the formation of parties be lifted and the parties law be reconsidered? Which is stronger in the NDP: The conservative forces or the forces for change? Why has AL-WAFD newspaper been confiscated? What is the future and what are the limits of change within the NDP after these elections? We further asked Abu Basha: Why aren't the Brothers [Muslim Brotherhood] and the Nasirists allowed to form parties and what is the current position of the Nasirists on Egypt's political map?

To find the answers, you have to read the entire interview.

[Question] The starting point is elections, and our question is: Why has the announcement of the NDP lists been delayed more than necessary? What are the nomination criteria observed by the party in selecting its candidates? What percentage of change [in candidates] has taken place and why has it been a small percentage?

[Answer] To start, I would like to point out that there is a true realization that Egypt is passing through an important turning point in its history because there is a new political situation and there is a democratic climate that is new to Egypt. When I say a new democratic climate, I mean the word in its full sense. In numerous historical phases, Egypt did not have a sound democratic climate. Prior to the July 1952 revolution, there was no democratic climate and no sound democratic activity in Egypt. What existed at the time were the political positions of national forces rejecting the conditions prevalent at that time. Those forces reflected the will of the people who were denied self-expression. Egypt was under the control of colonialism for a long period of time. After the inception of the July revolution, democratic activity was

nonexistent in the first phase of the revolution. This was natural because a revolution anywhere seeks inevitably to impose special conditions, considering that it aims at changing society and the bases of the social dimension. This requires the adoption of special measures that enable the revolution to defend itself. This is the so-called revolutionary legitimacy, especially since the Egyptian revolution was the target of external forces before being the target of internal forces. In the second phase of the revolution after 1971, in the wake of the October 1973 war specifically, the tendency to establish the mainstays of democracy, which represented one of the revolution's main principles, emerged. Regrettably, democratic activity suffered a setback from the beginning of 1979 until 1981--a setback which culminated in September and October of the same year. When President Mubarak assumed responsibility, he took a new step whose features began to show when he released the politicians who had been under detention and then received those politicians in his office immediately upon their release from detention. Then came the second step toward national reconciliation with the various political forces. The features of the new democracy among any people is subject to various stages of growth. Numerous countries have passed through these stages. The political forces shoulder the responsibility of taking into account and considering the circumstances surrounding these stages. The features of democratic activity began to emerge prior to October 1981 when we initiated the first step of democratic activity after the long special period under which we lived in the wake of the July revolution. We must admit that this period was somewhat too long and that it was interspersed with some mistakes. I believe that this is something normal to which all revolutions are exposed. But what we have noticed is that the Egyptian political forces have not yet realized the perils that could undermine the democratic climate, democratic activity and the growth of the democratic experience and of the democratic structure. This is why these democratic forces have slipped into some pitfalls embodied in their failure to understand the boundary separating sound political competition from the political competition that encourages illegal forces to entrench their presence in the political arena beyond the legitimate framework and to achieve a degree of growth that then enables these illegal forces to impose themselves in one way or another as a result of the moral and material support they have been able to gain and to leap on power from outside the framework of legitimacy. This is exactly what happened in 1979, 1981 and 1982.

#### Regime's Responsibility Before 1981

[Question] In our view, the regime was not innocent of encouraging the emergence of these groups prior to 1981. It so happened that the political forces existing in the arena made mistakes in establishing alliances with legitimate forces, thus contributing to the transformation of those forces into illegitimate forces. It is certain that we cannot absolve the regime existing at the time of the responsibility of encouraging these groups.

[Answer] Mistakes were definitely committed in this regard. It is my opinion that there are miscalculations. When President Hosni Mubarak assumed power after October 1981, he met in his office with all the politicians from the various political forces, had a discussion with them and promised to open his heart to every Egyptian, telling them that the responsibility of rebuilding



Egypt falls on the shoulders of every Egyptian. When the president of the republic embarked on this new direction, the features of the new democratic activity began to be entrenched day after day and Egypt began to experience a climate of political freedom that had not been there before--a climate reflected in the fact that every man is entitled to say what he wishes within the legitimate framework. The partisan papers publish whatever they wish without being subjected to confiscation. The writers write with utter freedom and partisan meetings are held without any obstacles. The parties are achieving a degree of growth as a result of being given the opportunity to engage in sound partisan activity that is not restricted by any shackle.

#### Egypt's Legitimate Democratic Steps

[Question] But the other political forces have a different viewpoint on the establishment of sound democratic activity?

[Answer] Certainly. The political forces are projecting other viewpoints and calling for the free formation of parties without any restriction or condition and for the unrestricted freedom of newspaper publication. These are viewpoints that can be discussed. I believe that no people can acquire democracy in a manner incompatible with their circumstances, their real situation and the external and internal considerations facing them. However, it suffices that many countries view Egypt with appreciation and surprise. These countries say that Egypt is located in an inflammable area and is surrounded by external conditions of which we are all aware, in addition to internal conditions that require focusing on certain problems. Despite all this and despite the tribulation to which Egypt was subjected in 1981 and which could have demolished all of society's fundamental bases and mainstays, Egypt has been able to march firmly toward a stability viewed by the world with admiration and surprise at the same time. These countries consider the Egyptian experience a unique one and, therefore, view this experience as a living and positive model. Considering that we are enjoying this climate and this stability and that we are living in an atmosphere of political freedom that enables the legitimate political forces to exercise their political responsibility within the partisan framework permitted by the law and the constitution, then this means that we are moving in steady steps on the sound path toward democracy. If this path is 10 km long, then I believe that we have crossed a third of the distance. It is my opinion that it is a great gain to have covered this distance in 2 or 3 years.

Within this period, two new parties have emerged on the political scene, namely, the Wafd Party and al-Ummah Party. Moreover, partisan newspapers have been issued and hundreds of partisan meetings and conferences have been held. We can also feel the freedom of expression. Therefore, the Egyptian parties enjoy no lesser a space of freedom than those enjoyed by the European parties. What remains for us is to continue the march on the path until we build the sound democratic structure completely.

This is why the entire world is watching the elections in Egypt with extreme interest and believes that these elections represent an important phase in the democratic course. It is no surprise that the elections receive all this attention. Moreover, it is no surprise that preparing the lists is taking

numerous long sessions, considering that it is essential to establish clear criteria for selecting the NDP candidates.

#### Democratic Path Between Speed and Slowness

[Question] You consider what has been accomplished in the past 2 years toward building the democratic structure in Egypt a miracle and believe that the current judgment of the experience and its final results is wrong. We say that some people believe that we have traveled one-third of the path more slowly than necessary. What is your comment?

[Answer] I believe that any country emerging from conditions similar to the conditions experienced by Egypt in the 1970's, especially in the wake of the October war and the problems it created and the previous wars which had left their impact on the social and economic situation, plus the political crisis experienced by Egypt in 1979, 1980 and 1981--if we examine all these conditions and examine on the other hand what has been accomplished in the past 2 years toward building the complete democratic structure, then we will find that Egypt has achieved a miracle by all criteria.

If we examine the history of democratic practices in other well-established countries, we would find that democratic activity in a country like England reached its current state only after nearly 100 years of experience.

In France, this democratic activity was not achieved until decades after the French revolution. We also find that the democratic structure has not yet been completed in numerous countries. These countries must go through certain phases over which nobody disagrees. This is why I find that the political forces that lead society and that are responsible for enlightening, i.e., guiding, people politically shoulder a fundamental responsibility. These forces can either map out the sound path or create faulty positions that set back democratic activity. Therefore, we beg all the political forces in Egypt to realize the nature of the circumstances that Egyptian society is undergoing and to understand that the process of democratic activity requires a sense of responsibility and some sort of controls that create a healthy climate for this action. Thus, sound democratic activity is being reaffirmed in Egypt day after day. The proof is that we have not lost anything in the past 2 years. On the contrary, we are making gains. I believe that those who say that we are losing anything insofar as democratic activity is concerned are contradicting the truth and reality.

In fact, Egypt is daily making more gains. If some people try, for some immediate partisan or political objective, to encourage indirectly the illegitimate forces to achieve some growth, then I believe that this will lead to another setback someday.

#### When Will Democratic Structure Be Completed?

[Question] We hope that such a day will not come. However, do you believe that the remaining two-thirds of the path toward building the complete democratic structure indicate abolition of the special laws, a lifting of the

ban on the formation of parties and a reconsideration of the system of the upcoming elections?

[Answer] I don't believe that there is anything constant in this world. Everything is subject to change. I also believe that nobody has said that matters will go on as they are forever. The president of the republic has stressed many times and on numerous occasions that everything is subject to reexamination. It is my opinion that there is no restriction on the formation of new parties in Egypt. However, there are controls. Is it in Egypt's interest to have 30 or 40 parties existing in it?

Egypt and Parties, In Whose Interest Precisely?

[Question] There are numerous viewpoints, and some people believe that the freedom of forming parties should be given without any restrictions.

[Answer] Some people believe that Egypt's interest dictates that all controls concerning the formation of parties be eliminated. But it is not necessary that this viewpoint is 100 percent sound. This may lead to hampering the movement of political life. There may come a day when we can absorb any number of parties. But we must examine the reality under which we live because departing from the reality and soaring in the imagination and in horizons remote from this reality may harm partisan and political activity in Egypt.

[Question] What about the special laws?

[Answer] It is very possible that the special laws will be changed one day and I believe that this will lead to completing the democratic structure and to bolstering the democratic process.

[Question] We know that you have just arrived from a meeting which discussed the lists. How many meetings have been held to discuss this issue?

[Answer] The truth is that I have not counted the meetings.

[Question] Why the delay in announcing the NDP lists?

[Answer] The delay has been due to the careful examination of the candidate lists. I will note here a difficult equation with which, I believe, all the parties have been faced. This equation requires the selection of the fittest elements insofar as purity, political ability and representation of a segment of society are concerned. At the same time, several other factors which govern the selection of candidates have to be taken into consideration. These factors are embodied in the candidate's background and popularity, considering that every party wants to gain the highest percentage of votes. This is why the equation is difficult, and I believe that it is difficult for all the other parties. Therefore, the other parties have done what the NDP did. Consequently, the NDP is not the only party whose lists have been postponed. The other parties have also postponed preparing their lists. Thus, careful examination has led to delaying the parties' lists, considering that each party is eager to keep the secrets of the preparation of its lists until the last moment.

But as the well-known Chinese proverb says, "I know that trying to please all people is a certain path to failure." Therefore, it is difficult to try to please all people. But the NDP has tried as much as possible to move in the right direction by selecting its candidates properly. This is why it has held numerous meetings in order to present candidates who enjoy the highest degree of popular approval, good reputation, purity and ability to engage in political activity and to represent one of society's various segments, be they workers, farmers, national capitalists or intellectuals.

#### Those Who Have Harmed NDP

[Question] What are the reasons behind the exclusion of those who have not been fortunate enough to be included in the NDP lists?

[Answer] I believe that those who have not been included in the party lists lack one of the criteria established by the party for the election of its candidates. The party has established several criteria which must be met by every member selected by the party to be included in its lists, including his background and the popularity he enjoys in his district and his ability to engage in political action. As for those excluded, the member who may have lost his popularity for some reason, old age and immobility or the lack of a bond between the member and his district.

[Question] Can it be said that the elements proven to have harmed the NDP have been excluded from these lists?

[Answer] As much as possible.

[Question] Why as much as possible?

[Answer] To the greatest degree possible.

[Question] Why not completely?

[Answer] What I mean by the greatest degree possible is completely.

[Question] Does this mean that these lists will produce no negative reactions?

[Answer] It is my assessment that the choice has fallen on the best elements with which the party can wage the upcoming elections. It is true that the selection has been hard and that the party has had a large number from which to choose. The difficulty has been in enabling the party to please all the members. This is why I believe that there are members enjoying a good reputation who have not been fortunate enough to be selected. Therefore, I urge every Egyptian to participate in political life without tying this participation to his being placed or not placed in a certain position. I believe that the NDP members who have not had a turn this time will have a big role in the process of building the party, which is no less important than in participating in the People's Assembly. On the contrary, I believe that building the party after the elections will be of major importance because it will be a completely new

structure that will fully reflect all the hopes and objectives which President Husni Mubarak carries in the coming phase.

[Question] Can we quote you as saying that the party building process will begin immediately upon completion of the elections and that the party will be rebuilt from top to bottom?

[Answer] I believe that this will take place.

[Question] What are the districts in which the highest percentage of change has taken place?

[Answer] Nearly 30 percent of the current members in the People's Assembly have been changed.

[Question] Thirty percent of the old members?

[Answer] I believe so.

[Question] Is this percentage calculated after the addition of the 60 percent who are new faces?

[Answer] Thirty percent of the old members, excluding the 60 percent.

[Question] Generally, if the change affects 30 percent of the old members in the People's Assembly, we believe that it is a good percentage. Are there districts where there has been a complete change?

[Answer] No.

[Question] Are there districts where the change has reached 80 or 90 percent?

[Answer] There are some districts where the change has reached 50 percent and other districts where the percentage is lower.

[Question] And other districts which have remained the same?

[Answer] No.

[Question] Not even a single district?

[Answer] Not a single district throughout the republic has remained unchanged.

[Question] We have learned that you will head the list for the first district in al-Jizah?

[Answer] I do not head the list. I am the second in order.

[Question] Who heads the list?

[Answer] A worker.



## Why Does Minister Nominate Himself

[Question] The neutrality of the police has been evident to all throughout 14 previous by-elections. This has contributed not only to the soundness of the democratic climate but also to greater psychological confidence on the part of the policemen themselves. Do you believe that this [your competing in the elections] will have bad consequences?

[Answer] To start with, I am a political minister, a minister in a partisan cabinet and a member of the NDP General Secretariat. Therefore, my competing in the elections does not violate parliamentary traditions and has nothing to do with the integrity of the election process.

[Question] Does this mean that al-Jizah policemen will not do you favors?

[Answer] I don't believe this will happen. I don't believe that al-Jizah policemen will do me favors.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] Because there are no favors in elections.

[Question] We believe that al-Jizah district will be the focus of strong attention by the world media, as will Shubra al-Khaymah district where the prime minister is a candidate. Will special standards be applied to these two districts in order that all may be assured of the soundness of the election process and of the neutrality of the police?

[Answer] No special standards will be applied. The standards applied to the other districts will also be applied to these two districts.

[Question] What are the general standards that will be applied to insure the soundness of the election process and the neutrality of the police?

[Answer] The only thing applied will be the law.

[Question] What are your instructions insofar as this issue is concerned?

[Answer] Insuring the soundness of all phases of the election process and implementing the legal measures. The police will insure this and will give all the parties an equal chance to carry out election propaganda. Second, on election day, the police will assume their full role in protecting and insuring security during the election, in protecting the election committee and in taking all the legal measures if there is any attempt to violate the law.

[Question] Do you think that these measures provide the guarantees insuring the soundness of the election process?

[Answer] I believe that they provide a sufficient guarantee and they are operative in numerous countries.

## Transporting Ballot Boxes and Guarantees

[Question] There are two activities pertaining to the neutrality of the police: The casting of votes and then transporting the ballot boxes from the subdistricts to the main districts where the vote count takes place. What are the measures you have taken to assure the complete neutrality of the police, beginning with the casting of votes and ending with delivery of the boxes for the vote count?

[Answer] When the citizen goes to cast his vote, he will not be subjected to any influence. In the committee office, he will be the one deciding to whom to give his vote. As for transporting the boxes, I don't see any problem there because the boxes are transported by vehicle to the General Committee in broad daylight before the eyes of all.

[Question] This means that there is nothing to prevent the presence of a representative of each party while the boxes are transported?

[Answer] As a representative of the police, we have nothing to do with the party representatives. My responsibility is to transport the boxes. These boxes are locked and sealed by the committee chairmen and are then gathered in trucks and transported to the General Committee. As for other private cars belonging to the party representatives and driving behind the trucks until the boxes are delivered, this is something with which we have nothing to do.

## Wafdists Say...So What Does Minister Say?

[Question] The Wafdists say that very confidential instructions have been issued by the minister of interior to the security people in the governorates, to the policemen in the police districts and precincts and to village mayors and chiefs to support the NDP members. What is your comment on this?

[Answer] This is imagination. It has not happened and I have issued no instructions to this effect.

[Question] But they say that village mayors and chiefs are civil servants and are under the influence of the Ministry of Interior and that this will motivate them to support the NDP members.

[Answer] The mayors and chiefs have nothing to do with the elections and their task will be confined to identifying the voters, if they are asked to do so.

[Question] Will their task be confined to this duty only?

[Answer] Only this, and only in case they are asked to do so.

[Question] Why have you been strict in banning marches organized by the candidates?

[Answer] Because such marches may turn into clashes that undermine public security. I wonder: What is the motive for such marches? I believe that they

are an unhealthy aspect of democratic activity. These parties are permitted to hold meetings and conferences and will be permitted to set up [conference] pavilions when nominations are terminated and appeals are settled, provided that the parties coordinate with each other.

[Question] Who will take charge of coordination between these parties?

[Answer] The police precincts.

[Question] What is the objective of the intervention of the police?

[Answer] To prevent clashes between the parties. It may so happen that two parties may be holding meetings in the same place simultaneously and the rivalry between them may lead to violations of the law. Very regrettably, fights between the candidates erupt in some of these conferences. Therefore, it is not beneficial to allow matters to go without any controls. If there is coordination between the parties, then we have no objection.

#### NDP and Other Parties

[Question] Will the other parties be treated on an equal footing as the NDP?

[Answer] I defy any person claiming that there is no equality. On the contrary, we help all the parties find places to hold their meetings.

[Question] Do you expect major explosions to take place in the NDP as a result of the announcement of the party's candidate lists?

[Answer] I believe that the NDP elements are convinced of what the party is doing. Some disagreements may develop, but I cannot imagine that they will reach the point of explosions.

[Question] Why did the NDP secretary in al-Jizah resign?

[Answer] He disagreed with the views of some of the leadership in al-Jizah.

[Question] Is the cause related to the nomination of some individuals?

[Answer] I cannot ascertain this. But there have been previous disagreements.

[Question] We believe that the nomination is the main reason.

[Answer] No.

[Question] Did the secretary resign or was he relieved?

[Answer] He took a position and resigned.



You and al-Jizah: What Is Story?

[Question] Why hasn't Hasan Abu Easha been nominated in Kafr al-Zayyat? What is your relationship with al-Jizah?

[Answer] My relationship with al-Jizah dates back 40 years when I graduated from the Police Academy. I have spent all my life in al-Jizah. I was born in Cairo and my relationship with al-Jizah dates back to the time when I was a second lieutenant in al-Jizah district capital--al-Jizah precinct currently.

[Question] What are you going to tell the voters in al-Jizah?

[Answer] I will tell the al-Jizah voter that a People's Assembly member must reflect Egypt's new hope in the future, God willing. He must have the ability to take positions that reflect the masses' interest. A People's Assembly member must believe in scientific accomplishment and planning because Egypt can no longer withstand offhanded action. Therefore, I, as a citizen, must focus on supporting the new system adopted since President Mubarak began his term, namely, the system of planning, because this is the scientific system compatible with the phase being undergone by Egypt and with the problems experienced by Egypt in recent years. It suffices to point out here that the accomplishment made in the past 2 years on the basis of this planning could not have been made previously in any sphere whatsoever, be it the sphere of construction or of services. It is enough that the chronic problems from which Egypt had suffered for decades, such as the problem of sanitation--it is enough to say that as a result of the scientific planning which has taken place, we have actually begun to implement a sanitation project that will cost Egypt nearly 4 billion pounds and will meet Egypt's needs for 100 years to come. It is enough to note this.

It is enough to say that the projects being implemented to eliminate the problem of drinking water will meet Egypt's needs, despite the population growth, for decades to come.

It is enough to say that the electricity generated in the past 2 years has amounted to one-half the amount of electricity generated in the past 20 years. It is enough to say that the volume of investments made in the past 2 years and of the investments designated for the coming phase equals the volume of the investments appropriated in Egypt in the past 30 years. This is the accomplishment with which the Egyptian citizen must be convinced and which does actually lead to a better future. Words that do not rely on a real accomplishment are no more than words that carry numerous meanings, and they are not the words Egypt needs now.

It suffices that the NDP is the party whose social tendencies have been reaffirmed and is the party which symbolizes stability and seeks to achieve this stability and to protect Egypt from leaping into the unknown.

Moreover, the NDP is the party whose principles are compatible with Egypt's middle-of-the-road character, which rejects radicalism of all kinds and under all names.

There is another point. It is enough to say that in the past 2 years, democratic practice has been established and the social dimension has been tackled so successfully that Egypt has achieved a degree of stability that does not exist in any other part of the region in which we live.

#### Concerns of Small Employee in District

[Question] To counter these words, we will raise the issue of the prices and of the burden they pose to the small employee and to the ordinary citizen. What will you tell the people insofar as the issue of prices is concerned?

[Answer] It will tell the people that the existing sound planning and the channeling of Egypt's investments and resources toward ideal action and sound services--all of which can be reflected in social stability in Egypt--are capable of curtailing inflation, which is an international problem. It is certain that in comparison with the inflation rate in many other countries around us, Egypt's inflation rate is much lower. As a result of sound planning, four-fifths or 80 percent of Egypt's investment resources are channeled toward the production sector, whether industrial or agricultural production, and toward the service sector. All this is capable of curtailing the inflation problem. We do not deny that there the prices are rising and we do not deny that it is necessary to balance the wages with the prices. It is definite that this depends on the presence of a production volume that covers any increase developing in the prices. Therefore, there will be a national slogan saying that Egypt must increase its production in the coming phase by the degree that actually permits us to tackle the gap between wages and prices.

It is certain that endeavors are being made in one form or another to raise wages by certain percentages. I know that wages have risen in the past 2 years at faster rates than in preceding years.

Moreover, the problem of production is now being tackled scientifically. For example, we believe that mechanized agriculture contributes to raising the vertical productivity of certain main crops, such as rice and corn, and we have achieved very reassuring results in this regard. Mechanized agriculture will also be applied to the cultivation of wheat. All these are undoubtedly promising results. We must also say that regardless of the dimensions of the population problem, we, as a people, are largely responsible for some of the hardship we are experiencing because Egypt's population growth rate is higher than that of any other country in the world. It is certain that this is not in the Egyptian people's interest, and we must control population growth in order that we may be able to better enjoy all the development plans being implemented by the state now.

#### Minister's Rival and What He Says in District

[Question] If I were your rival, I would raise the issue of the emergency laws in the face of the minister of interior and say that the minister benefits from these laws. What would you then say?

[Answer] I would say that the emergency laws from which the minister of interior benefits fall within a very narrow area that concerns every Egyptian citizen, namely, the area of fighting terrorism and violence. I would also say that throughout the past year, the emergency law has been applied only within the narrowest scope possible and only in cases proven to be inclined toward terrorist or violent action. I will say, moreover, that it is not in the interest of the Egyptian citizen to be surprised every moment with an act of sabotage, terror or violence because such acts undermine the Egyptian citizen's sense of stability and safety. Moreover, they affect the general activity pertaining to investments and to the general climate that creates the opportunity for the proper economic growth which Egypt actually needs in order to overcome its economic problem or hardship.

#### Fighting Terrorism, and Citizen's Interest

[Question] We are not saying that this is not in conflict with your view and with a view which we believe is true, namely, that the issue is an issue of democracy and of Egypt's security and that the better the economic situation, the stronger the security. We believe that the relative security currently being enjoyed by Egypt is not due so much to the emergency laws as it is due to the relatively unconfined current democratic climate. What is Your Excellency's reply?

[Answer] My reply is that the part to which the emergency law is applied concerns the Egyptian citizen. As I have already said, there are other countries that have special laws under the name of a "terrorism control law." Besides, if the emergency law does not extend by a hair's breadth beyond the framework of terrorism and violence, then this certainly does not affect the Egyptian citizen's life in any way. Moreover, the emergency law is a temporary law that will end when this unhealthy phenomenon to which we have been exposed and to which we do not want to return comes to an end. We also began to deal with this phenomenon with the religious dialogue which has contributed to enriching and rationalizing the sound Islamic values within the framework of the constitutional stipulation that the Islamic Shari'a is the main source of legislation. This dialogue has produced brilliant results, and the credit in this regard goes to the venerable ulema who conducted the dialogue which attracted the attention of broad masses. This is one of the precautionary methods followed. Until this unhealthy phenomenon ends--and we have a lesson to learn from what is happening around us--I believe that it is in the interest of every Egyptian citizen for Egypt's stability to continue and for the feeling of security not to be exposed to any disturbance.

[Question] The previous questions are concerned with what we expect of your rivals. What do you expect of your rivals?

[Answer] I don't want to say that I expect this and that from the rivals. Every rival is supposed to express his viewpoint and his party's policy. Let this expression be objective and let it reflect this or that party's thinking and what the party seeks to achieve.

## Voting Guarantees in Elections

[Question] How do we guarantee that the voter who enters the committee office to cast his vote is the voter whose name is shown on the election lists?

[Answer] The personal identity card is the final judge in this regard.

[Question] What if the voter is a woman who does not have a card?

[Answer] The administrative people can identify her, or she can prove her identity in any of the various ways of identification.

[Question] Why has AL-WAFD newspaper been confiscated?

[Answer] It was confiscated because it committed a violation. There is a decision by the public prosecutor banning the publication of material on a certain topic whereas the newspaper published exaggerated reports on the topic, giving an untrue picture of the security situation, and herein lies the legal violation. The ordinary law was applied in confiscating the edition in accordance with a decision issued by the prosecution and presented to the court. The decision was not applied in accordance with the emergency law, as the newspaper itself noted in a later edition. The emergency law has nothing to do with the confiscation of AL-WAFD newspaper. When the judge permitted circulation of the newspaper, the edition with the published report on security was released. But the content of the report published was exaggerated and did not rely on a fundamentally reliable source. It is my opinion that it is not wise and not in the public interest to exaggerate an issue that does not exist.

[Question] AL-WAFD newspaper has noted that it did not receive the ban decision until it was too late.

[Answer] This is not my job.

## Minister of Interior's Resignation and Truth

[Question] Because of this story, rumors were circulated and reached the point of saying that the minister of interior resigned because of this issue.

[Answer] If every minister of interior resigns because of an incident, then this means that no minister of interior will remain in his position for long in any country in the world. This incident is not as momentous as many incidents that happen in Europe and the United States. We have tackled the incident according to its real dimensions and have studied its background and we are aware of its weight and significance.

## These are Details of Disappearance of (al-ahraz)

[Question] Does the incident have a political dimension?

[Answer] According to the evidence we have gathered, the incident has no political dimension and is an individual act.

[Question] What was its objective?

[Answer] Material gain.

[Question] This means that somebody has stolen the (al-ahraz) to sell them and make a profit. Have you gathered the threads of the incident?

[Answer] We have certainly gathered the threads of the incident.

[Question] Does this mean that the results of the incident are within your reach?

[Answer] Not now.

[Question] What is the secret behind the circulation of the rumor of your resignation?

[Answer] Rumors are numerous.

How Are Results of Election Calculated?

[Question] How are the final results of the system of election by the relative list calculated?

[Answer] The percentages are known. As for the percentage of votes that any party must gain at the general level, it has to be 8 percent of the total number of correct votes cast.

[Question] What is the percentage of Egyptians who cast their votes in the previous elections?

[Answer] In the Consultative Council elections, the percentage amounted to 51.7 percent. I believe that the percentage will be higher in the coming elections.

[Question] What do you expect this percentage to reach?

[Answer] I cannot predict this percentage.

[Question] What is the number of voters in Egypt at present?

[Answer] Thirteen million workers.

[Question] How many new votes have been added?

[Answer] Nearly 2 million.

[Question] How many people have been omitted from the lists?

[Answer] Nearly 1 million people. This figure includes those deceased, those denied the exercise of their political rights as a result of sentences issued against them and the armed forces conscripts. Added were those born in 1965



and those who had not been registered in the election lists. I would like to add that when a party gets 3 percent of the total correct votes cast, its percentage in every district will be calculated separately and so will the number of seats the party has gained. If a party gets 30 percent of the votes, it will get 30 percent of the seats.

[Question] When was the latest amendment introduced into the voter lists?

[Answer] In December.

[Question] And prior to this amendment?

[Answer] No amendment had been introduced into the election lists for several years. For the first time, an amendment was introduced to coordinate the voter lists with the civil register. The voter lists are supposed to be amended in December of every year. The deceased are supposed to be omitted, births added and new voters registered. As for coordinating the voter lists with the civil register, this has been done for the first time in a long period.

[Question] This means that the current voter lists are highly accurate?

[Answer] Yes, largely so.

[Question] Regarding the final election committee headed by the assistant minister of interior, why isn't it headed by a judicial official?

[Answer] This is a Ministry of Interior committee that originates nothing and that only receives results and reports from the counselors who head the general committees and adds up the results on the basis of the reports and results announced by the counselors heading main committees and the judges heading the general committees and approved by the counselors heading the main committees. This means that this committee receives the results announced by the judges and counselors in the election districts and adds them up in the form of percentages.

[Question] Wouldn't it be a strange coincidence if an opposition party wins an entire district and then loses all its representatives if it does not achieve the required percentage?

[Answer] In individual elections, it is very possible for a candidate to win 49 percent of the votes and for his party to lose all the other votes, with the candidate or his opposition party thus failing to gain any representation and with 49 percent of the votes eliminated. Ten votes more or 10 votes less may mean eliminating 50 percent of the votes.

But under the canopy of election by the relative percentage list, the parties will be able to get the percentages they gain.

[Question] How soon will announcement of the results take place and will the vote count take place on the same day?

[Answer] The vote count will take place in the general committees headed by judges. Each group of general committees is headed by a main committee under the chairmanship of a counselor. The main committee adds up the general committee's vote count in each governorate and calculates the percentages achieved by each party. All this is then transmitted by the counselors heading the main committees to the central committee at the Ministry of Interior. I believe that the vote count in the general committees and then in the main committees will begin on 28 May and end on the morning of 29 May. I also believe that the central committee can finish its task on 29 or 30 May.

#### Over How Many Days Will Elections Be Held?

[Question] The Wafd Party has been demanding that the elections be held over more than 1 day on the pretext that judicial officials must be present even at the level of subsidiary committees. What is your opinion of this view?

[Answer] There are 23,000 subsidiary committees. Can we make the judiciary close shop for an entire week? Even a week may not be enough. Moreover, this may influence the outcome because it is not in the interest of any opposition party to be known that the tendency in a number of governorates is in favor of a certain party because this knowledge may influence the tendency in the other governorates. This is not a sound situation by any means. Egypt's judiciary cannot be idled for a week or more because this will hamper the people's interests. Besides, why should we lose trust in everything? We have established sufficient guarantees and every judge is empowered to make his decision on any complaint he receives during the election process and the parties have their representatives in the subsidiary committees. This is the wisdom in the saying that "it is an election day." In no part of the world are elections held throughout 1 week.

#### Extension of Nominations for 1 Day

[Question] In view of the delay by all the parties in announcing their candidate lists, couldn't the nomination period be extended for 1 or 2 days, especially since all the opposition parties are demanding such an extension?

[Answer] No, there can be no extension because the lists have been declared by a large number of parties and the parties have actually formed their positions. Moreover, there are subsequent phased procedures that depend on the completion of each phase on time. If the nomination period is extended for another day, then the program of the entire election process will come to a halt.

[Question] We have heard that the State Council has not agreed to issue a ruling for an extension of the nomination deadline.

[Answer] The State Council has actually refused to issue a ruling extending the nomination deadline and has said no to those demanding the extension on the grounds that Monday, the deadline for acceptance of the nomination papers, is Shamm al-Nasim holiday.

[Question] How will this enormous number of candidates, exceeding 5,000 candidates from all parties, be able to submit their papers?

[Answer] Some of them submitted their nomination papers at the beginning of this week and the parties submitted their requests in full last Monday. As for the rest, we have taken steps to receive the nomination requests in the security directorates, with a committee in each directorate to receive the nomination applications and with each party having a representative in this committee. Each committee has five representatives to facilitate and speed up the procedures concerning candidate registration.

[Question] What is the idea behind the submission of the reserve candidate lists?

[Answer] If an original candidate withdraws, a replacement can be taken from the reserve list. The new election law regulates the election process. If an original candidate withdraws or is replaced, he will be replaced by a candidate from the reserve list to which another reserve candidate is then added.

[Question] Is it possible that there will be extreme difficulty in bringing in reserve candidates because they may feel that their interests do not lie in the election?

[Answer] No, they do feel that they have interests there because insofar as we in the NDP are concerned, they represent the partisan leaderships at the level of the districts and the governorates in the coming phase in which the party will be rebuilt.

#### President Mubarak's Thoughts on Elections

[Question] There have been meetings which were headed by President Husni Mubarak. Can we know President Mubarak's thoughts on the election process and his instructions to you as a party? What we mean is: What is President Mubarak's view of the upcoming election battle?

[Answer] It is President Mubarak's view that the election process is a battle which must be compatible with Egypt's position and with the policy established by President Mubarak since he assumed power. These, briefly, are President Mubarak's thoughts and instructions.

[Question] Is thought being given to reforming the party without rebuilding it from top to bottom? Is thought being given to completing the party's other fundamental structures, such as the General Secretariat and the Political Bureau, in the near future?

[Answer] I believe that the party will be completely rebuilt.

[Question] The degree of change introduced may not perhaps please some people. Can we be reassured that at least the same criteria will be taken into consideration in the formation of the General Secretariat, the Political Bureau and the other organizations?



[Answer] The NDP will be completely rebuilt.

[Question] On what basis?

[Answer] On the basis compatible with President Mubarak's instructions and principles and with the convictions he has expressed in all his positions.

[Question] Some people say that the party's conservative forces are stronger than the forces for change?

[Answer] There is no such a thing as conservative forces. Moreover, big changes have occurred in all spheres in Egypt. There has been a change in the positions and a change in the policies. We must not view the issue from the angle of individuals but from the angle of policies. There has been a big change in the policies. For example, planning was nonexistent earlier and democratic activity was non-existent too. Egypt's foreign policy was not as strongly present as it is now. All these are genuine features of change on which foreign critics and observers have commented at length in very many situations.

[Question] Regarding the parties that will get less than 8 percent of the vote, will the votes they get be given to the number one party or will they be dropped?

[Answer] The votes given to a party getting less than 8 percent will be eliminated, the same way that the 49 percent votes [given in individual elections] are eliminated.

[Question] All the opposition parties are using the card of freedom, demanding more freedom, more newspapers and abolition of the emergency law. Why doesn't the NDP use this card?

[Answer] We are not using this card because we are applying freedom and practicing real democracy.

[Question] You have noted that Egypt has traveled down one-third of the path to democracy. What, in your view, are the other two-thirds?

[Answer] I believe that the other two-thirds lie in establishing in the Egyptian people's conscience the conviction that the path to power comes through the ballot box. All the Egyptian people refuse to have somebody come from the unknown and seize power or impose a certain situation in the country. Take England, for example. If any organization such as a Jihad Organization were to emerge with the objective of seizing power, the British people themselves, not the government, would grab such an organization and dump it into the English Channel. When this is achieved in Egypt and when no one dares try to seize power by force and change the legitimate path, then the democratic structure will rise with an unimaginable speed. However, there are still those who are trying to seize power from the darkness and from two well-known directions.

## Democratic Experiment Internally and Externally

[Question] You have noted that the world appreciates Egypt's democratic experiment. It is normal that such appreciation is not voiced by the internal forces when the judgment is supposed to come from within and not from outside? Moreover, why aren't some internal forces convinced yet?

[Answer] The internal forces are convinced. But they have their viewpoints and demand more.

[Question] What is the situation insofar as the votes of Egyptians abroad are concerned and will these votes be considered void?

[Answer] The elections are taking place inside Egypt and this means that the votes that will be counted are the votes of the Egyptians present inside Egypt on election day.

## Position of Nasirists Toward Political Activity

[Question] Why do we permit the presence of a weak party while denying two real currents, such as the Muslim Brotherhood and the Nasirists, representation?

[Answer] The constitution prohibits the formation of any party on a religious basis and states this prohibition frankly. As for the Nasirists, they have filed a lawsuit demanding the formation of a Nasirist party. The lawsuit is still before the judiciary in the State Council.

[Question] Where do you think is the place of the Nasirists in the upcoming election battle?

[Answer] As a citizen, I say that the NDP is the party closest to the Nasirists because it is the natural extension of the principles of the July revolution. What is happening in Egypt is not at all in conflict with the principles of the July revolution. No party is closer to the Nasirists than the NDP.

As for the fact that there are differences in viewpoints in positions which were taken in the 1970's, these differences do not negate the fact that the NDP is the natural extension of the July revolution and that most of the NDP members had a role in the Socialist Union and in the July revolution. A large number of the NDP members participated in political activity throughout the various phases of the July revolution. There is no conflict between the NDP and the Nasirists. The NDP is the natural extension of Egyptian nationalism.

[Question] During the preparation of the lists, it was thought that if we at least disregard the Nasirist symbols about which we read in the papers, then there is nothing to prevent nominating some of the Nasirist bases [elements] or some of the elements which worked with the July revolution during 'Abd-al-Nasir's administration.

[Answer] This has actually happened.

[Question] But then the counter viewpoint springs up immediately, saying that the return of these Nasirists could lead to the restoration of totalitarianism and, possibly, the restoration of the single-party system.

[Answer] There is no return to totalitarianism. Democracy is one of the principles of the July revolution. Democratic activity has come late and it had to be started. I will again say that the signs of democratic activity began to emerge in the wake of the October war and that democracy then suffered a setback. We have, God be thanked, made very good strides in the past 2 years. Therefore, democracy is not in conflict with the principles of the July revolution. Consequently, there will be no return to the totalitarian system and there is nothing in conflict with the basic principles of the July revolution.

[Question] Does this mean that if some names, which can be correctly called Nasirists, are included in the NDP lists, then this inclusion does not at all reflect a special tendency against national capitalism or against the experience of multiple parties?

[Answer] I say that democratic activity is a basic issue. The features of the economic policy have been defined clearly to all. The social dimension is completely clear in the 5-year plan. Egypt's Arab tendency is fully evident in Egypt's foreign policy. I believe that the Nasirists are as close as they can be to the NDP.

[Question] If an opposition list wins, the election system dictates that the list be headed by workers, not by other groups.

[Answer] If the percentage of workers and farmers is not met, then the party obtaining fewer votes will complete the worker percentage requirement in the district.

[Question] We all feel that the NDP's positions and policies have changed since 1981. We have covered one-third of the path toward democracy since 1981. The question is: Are all these changes tied to the presence of one individual, and what are the guarantees that the changes not be tied to the person of the president of the republic?

[Answer] This is why we say that it is very important that democratic activity continue on its sound path. As long as democratic activity continues on its sound path and as long as it is established in the Egyptian people's conscience that they reject any undemocratic action and reject any attempt to acquire power from the darkness, then it is certain that we will reach the level where the change is not tied to a particular individual but to the people's will.

Who Prevents Attacks Against Candidates?

[Question] What prevents attacks similar to the ones committed against the opposition representatives from recurring? We don't want this manifestation

to recur and this is why we ask you: What are the specific instructions you have given in order that such attacks may not recur?

[Answer] The security forces will control any situation. Should there develop a situation where mobs gather, then this would be an emotional situation. This is what I spoke about at the outset of the interview when I said that the inflammable competition existing between the parties is often tied to a certain place where a certain person has a majority or where the majority supports a certain person. But this phenomenon does not exist in Egypt, considering that no more than two incidents of the sort have taken place.

[Question] Will the governors be completely neutral during the election process and during the propaganda activities carried out on behalf of the NDP candidates, especially since we find that some governors have been touring the election districts with the candidates? This has happened in al-Gharbiyah Governorate. Will the governors be totally neutral?

[Answer] The governor's position is a political position. But I don't believe that the governors are now taking part in the election campaign.

[Question] Is there a special propaganda method in which you will engage?

[Answer] I have not thought of this matter because the propaganda will be for the party and not for the individual candidate.

[Question] What is the first objection that may be raised vis-a-vis the candidate lists of all the parties?

[Answer] I believe that the most important objection will be against the description of a candidate and whether he represents the workers or some other group.

[Question] Are there other objections?

[Answer] If there are specific objections by one candidate against another, the committee examining the objections, which is headed by a magistrate, and will study the objection and make its decision on it.

Elections: Beginning and End

[Question] The first question was about the elections and the final question is also about the elections. In light of the public opinion polls which you receive, what do you expect the outcome of the elections to be?

[Answer] I cannot make specific predictions now because that is mere conjecture. But as a party member, I hope that my party will gain the majority because I am convinced that this party is doing a lot for Egypt and that it can bolster the stability toward which Egypt is marching.

[Question] We thank the minister for coming to Dar al-nilal and spending 2 hours with us, even though we know perfectly well that your time is limited and that you are very busy. We repeat our warm thanks.

[Answer] I thank AL-MUSAWWAR staff and may God lead us all to what is good for Egypt, and until another interview.

## DOUBLING OF BURQAN BANK'S CAPITAL DISCUSSED

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 59, Apr 84 pp 27-28

[Article: "What is Behind the Doubling of the Capitalization of Burqan Bank in Kuwait?"]

[Text] An increase in the capitalization of Burqan Bank by 115 percent was recently announced in Kuwait. This was accomplished by means of the distribution of free shares with a ratio of 15 percent. In addition, the number of shares issued by means of being offered for general subscription with a value of one dinar and an issuance premium of about 3 dinars was doubled. This raised the total value of the shareholders' equity to about 152 million dinars during 1984, as compared with 54 million Kuwaiti dinars at the end of 1983. Of this sum, 24 million Kuwaiti dinars are issued capital paid in full, while 30 million Kuwaiti dinars are reserves. Numerous questions have been asked concerning the causes and goals of this unusual increase in the bank's capital, as well as its effect on the structure of the banking market and the position of the other banks in Kuwait.

It is well known that Burqan Bank is the latest institution to enter the commercial banking market in Kuwait. It was founded as a Kuwaiti joint-stock company in 1977 by a government initiative on the part of the Ministry of Finance with both private-sector and public participation. The aim was to conduct various commercial banking operations and services. The government's share in the bank at the end of 1983 was about 60 percent. Burqan Bank runs a network of eight branches located in various parts of Kuwait, and it has plans to open new branches during 1984. However, it has announced no plans to establish branches outside Kuwait.

## The Most Important Results of 1983

The bank's total assets amounted to 686 million Kuwaiti dinars at the end of 1983. That is, an increase of 23 percent occurred, compared with an increase of 1 percent in 1982 and 35 percent in 1981. Loans, facilities, and deducted securities increased by approximately only 11 million Kuwaiti dinars, or 3 percent, as compared with 22 percent in 1982 and 23 percent in 1981. This increase reflects the state of economic stagnation being experienced by Kuwait and the declining demand for credit in general, as well as the conservative policy followed by the bank in 1983.

The bank's net profits during 1983 amounted to about 5 million Kuwaiti dinars. That is, an increase of 10.2 percent occurred. It should be noted that the bank did not announce its total profits. This is the procedure followed by most banks and joint stock companies, which do not publish total realized profits, most of which are transferred to internal reserves, where they serve to back up doubtful assets.

The increase in the bank's capital will cause its standing in terms of stockholders' equity to rise from last place to second place, right behind the National Bank of Kuwait. During 1983, the bank occupied sixth place among Kuwaiti financial institutions in terms of total assets. During 1982, it occupied 44th place among the largest Arab banks.

Burqan Bank owns stock in several banks and financial institutions. The most important ones in Kuwait are the Bank of Bahrain and Kuwait (6.8 percent), the Industrial Bank of Kuwait (4.5 percent), the Kuwait Reinsurance Company (8.3 percent), the Arab Company for Security Trading (5.0 percent), the Security Trading Group (1.0 percent), and the Accounting and Financial Settlements Corporation (7.6 percent). The bank also owns stock in the following financial institutions outside of Kuwait: the Consolidated Bank of Kuwait, Ltd. (8.3 percent), which is located in London, the Consolidated Gulf Bank (2.8 percent), which is located in Bahrain, and the Arab-Greek Bank in Athens (8 percent).

#### The Effect on the Local Market of the Doubling of the Bank's Capital

The doubling of the capitalization of Burqan Bank has had special effects on the local financial markets. Here are the most important effects:

The bank's announcement that it was increasing its capital by offering shares for subscription with a premium did not find much of a response in the market. The price per share fell by a dinar, and trading took place at 8.750 dinars. Before the distribution, the rate of government support per share was 12.175 dinars.

Burqan Bank is the only bank that did not announce a distribution of monetary profits for 1983. On the other hand, the National Bank announced a distribution of 18 percent, while the Gulf Bank announced a distribution of 15 percent and the Commercial Bank announced one of 18 percent.

The distribution of shares by 115 percent marked the highest such distribution witnessed by the market in Kuwait so far. No joint-stock company has ever announced this kind of increase.

The government's participation share will be about 58 million Kuwaiti dinars (about 60 percent), while the total increase will amount to 98 million Kuwaiti dinars.

The Kuwaiti Company for Commerce, Contracting, and Foreign Investments has expressed its readiness to finance those shareholders who want to take part in increasing the bank's capital and hold less than 5000 shares. Of course, the aforementioned company is 95 percent owned by the Kuwaiti government. The fact that this institution is taking this step will greatly assist small



investors, who number more than 100,000 shareholders, in financing the purchase of the stock being offered.

#### Interpretation in the Local Market

In the local banking market, several interpretations of the causes for the increase in the capitalization of Burqan Bank at this time in particular have become prominent. Here are three of them:

The increase in the bank's capital was needed to support its financial position and the level of its reserves against any probable loss that could occur because of the Suq al-Manakh crisis and other debts whose collection is considered doubtful.

The Burqan Bank has rejected the aforementioned explanation and justified the increase in its capitalization as a step that had to be taken in order to help it expand. The step was also needed to raise the maximum level set by the central bank, which forbids any bank to loan out more than 10 percent of its shareholders' equity to any person or institution without surety. This proportion of the increase in its capital will help Burqan Bank to undertake larger financing operations.

However, some observers interpret the capitalization increase by saying that it is a step undertaken by the concerned government agencies in order to set up a jumbo bank. The government's intention has been to set up such a bank for more than 2 years. However, it has hesitated to do so because of the Suq al-Manakh crisis. With the increase in its capital, Burqan Bank will gradually be able to take on the position of the jumbo bank, even though it may play this role only on the local level for the time being.

On the international level, a discussion is currently being conducted on the possibility of merging the Consolidated Bank of Kuwait, Ltd. in London, which recently opened an office in New York, with the Asia Bank of Kuwait in Bahrain, which has a branch in Singapore. After the two institutions have been merged, they will have a special relationship with Burqan Bank, which will thereby win a stronger position and presence on the international level and become more capable of playing the role of jumbo bank.

Some questions remain to be asked about the probable effects that the Kuwaiti financial market will experience as a result of Burqan Bank being pushed with government assistance into a fundamental position, if not the major position, in the market. Is there a strong connection between what the market is witnessing and the emergence of the post-al-Manakh era in general and the increasing role of the state in the economy in particular? Is it a normal phenomenon for the state to try to place a bank in which it owns 60 percent of the stock in the leading position in the market, or is this action an expression of the state's desire to possess a powerful banking instrument in a market heretofore controlled by private and family-owned banks? Moreover, is it possible to separate the state's activity on the level of the financial market from its activity in the stock market, where it has recently been able to use continuous purchases of the stock of Kuwaiti companies to reach a position of complete control over a large number of companies?

## KUWAIT AIRWAYS FACES PROBLEMS DUE TO SECURITY MEASURES

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 59, Apr 84 p 37

[Text] The chairman of the board of Kuwait Airways, Ahmad al-Mashari, is trying to confront a series of negative factors that have appeared before the company and have begun to have a negative effect on its performance and income. Today, Kuwaiti Airways is tantamount to a thermometer registering the fluctuations that occur in and around Kuwait on the various political, economic and social levels.

One of the most important factors affecting the operation of the company in recent days has been the action taken by the government (following the recent explosions) to limit the flow of travelers entering the country, to seize work permits and visitors' cards, and to limit the possession of such documents to those having contracts with government companies. These measures struck a direct blow against the movement of passengers between Kuwait and other countries.

In addition to that, the Baghdad airport has resumed its activity in recent months, thereby absorbing some of the traffic that used to go through the Kuwait airport in the form of foreigners having contracts with companies in Iraq. They used to complete their journeys by traveling overland to al-Basrah, which is not far from the Kuwait airport (about an hour and a half by car.)

The third negative factor was the decision by the authorities--taken for the same security reasons--to change the flight paths of the aircraft in the region. The airplanes were forced to adopt new flight paths relatively far from the direct, short ones. This increased fuel costs and added wasted flight time, not to mention the accelerated consumption of spare parts, whose cost rose from 10 to 15 percent. Higher salaries must now be paid to the aircraft crews, while the margin of flexibility in the use of these aircraft and their proper direction has been narrowed. Moreover, the company recently lost two normally crowded routes: the 'Abadan route and the Tehran route. In addition, traffic on the Baghdad route has been cut back. In view of the development of events in Lebanon, the company's traffic to and from Beirut airport has also diminished greatly as a result of the reversal in the security situation and the consequent repeated opening and closing of the airport. Of course, even after the airport is opened, the company must usually wait a while before resuming operation of its flights.

Even the political disturbances in the Philippines have had negative political effects on the operation of Kuwaiti Airways. The disturbances witnessed by that country of 7000 islands and the demonstrations that took place after the murder of opposition leader Aquino caused a large decline in the number of passengers traveling from the Gulf to the Philippines for vacation, enjoyment, or business purposes.

Moreover, the fact that the American embassy in Kuwait has stopped issuing entry visas for the United States until "further notice" has deprived Kuwaiti Airways of the business of hundreds of students and businessmen who travel to the United States of America.

Before going on to the economic level, we must point out that the company has been forced to operate some economically unviable lines in order to achieve certain political goals. For example, there is the route to Algeria, which is used by only a few travelers.

#### The 1-Day Travelers

On the economic level, one must talk about those who carry elegant leather valises. These are the people who travel for 1 day between Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain to deal with business matters and the affairs and operations involved in Gulf stock speculation. These travelers have disappeared completely from the Kuwait airport. When Suq al-Manakh was flourishing, this daily traffic almost exceeded the absorptive capacity of Kuwaiti Airways. Now that Suq al-Manakh has collapsed and its "knights" have been restrained, Kuwaiti Airways has found that it has lost its preferred customers, since the state has restrained them and forbidden them from traveling at all.

Moreover, Kuwaiti Airways is currently suffering from the financial effects of several operations that embezzled the company's funds. These operations were conducted by its overseas offices, such as those in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. The company is also suffering because of the fluctuations in exchange rates and the rise in the value of the American dollar, as well as from the decline in the exchange prices of the currencies of most Third World countries. Indeed, the currencies of the European countries have fallen as well. In addition, it is difficult to change local funds in those countries into Kuwaiti dinars or American dollars, a strong currency used internationally. Kuwaiti Airways and other companies use American dollars to pay for their purchases from abroad.

Among the other economic concerns of the company are the matter of increasing wages, increasing spending for worker training, and the need for more employees, in keeping with the company's new, ambitious projects. In addition, the company has begun to receive its fleet of "Airbus" aircraft. It consists of 11 aircraft, of which two have arrived so far.

Mention should also be made of what could be called the unexpected economic effects which have resulted in particular from the psychological situation currently predominating in Kuwait. This situation has begun to cause both citizens and residents alike to limit expenditures and give up many luxuries, such as the custom of traveling to Europe or other places in the summer. They are saving for tomorrow under conditions of stagnation and rigidity, with a sense of instability existing both locally and regionally.

## HOUSING CRISIS, PRIVATE SECTOR'S ROLE EXPLORED

Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 26 Apr 84 p 4

[Interview with Engineer Sulayman 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Buraykan, by 'Awni al-Dawwad: "What is the Role of the Private Sector in Solving the Housing Problems?"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Engineer Sulayman 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Buraykan told AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM that the participation of the private sector in solving the housing problem leads to the more rapid completion of projects. In reference to the directives of the Higher Housing Council, which has called for this sector to contribute to the solution of the housing problem, he added that the participation of the private sector helps the state to finance projects and reduce the burdens on its general budget in the area of construction. It also realizes good profits for the companies involved and mobilizes the market. Moreover, great benefit accrues to the citizens, since greater numbers of dwellings are made available in fewer years and in greater variety. Thus, the citizens have the opportunity to choose what suits them, while the process of changing dwellings is avoided.

He explained that the participation of the private sector does not mean the elimination of the role of the General Housing Authority. With regard to the system of apartments, he said that he did not believe that this system would elicit a response from the citizens. He said there was much room for expansion, since the area of land used for building is merely "an eighth" of the total area. With regard to construction workers, he said that the matter needed to be regulated and restudied, so that the state's need for workers could be met in light of the projects to be built.

#### The Role of the Private Sector

To begin with, Eng Sulayman al-Buraykan spoke about the role being played by the private sector in solving the housing problem.

[Answer] The private sector has a large role to play in contributing to the solution of the housing problem. It is a big mistake to rely on one party in this matter, since no matter how big the government housing apparatus is, it will not be able to meet all the requests, some of which are perhaps 10 years old. Therefore, it is impossible for any single party to put up a large group of houses in a certain period of time, because the huge technical

and administrative apparatus needed to follow up on all those requests is not available. At the same time, each agency or authority has a certain capacity through which it can work. At the same time, each is required to build certain numbers of houses, which might be beyond its capability. Therefore, you will find that the level of housing is not as it should be, because of the absence of complete concentration.

#### Distributing Requests

He added:

However, if the government were to impose a distribution of the requests on the semi-governmental companies, such as the real estate and investment companies, and if it assigned to each company the execution of about 500 to 1000 homes a year, then we would find competition among the companies in order to do the best job, be that in terms of design or the quality of execution and the speed with which the work is completed. Moreover, since there are many companies, execution would naturally occur in the crucible of the laws of construction, the municipality, etc. In that case, the private sector would have made a contribution to the creation of dwellings in numbers sufficient to eliminate the long waiting period spent by the citizens in expectation of their turn, which might come only after 10 years, in some cases.

#### The Large Number of Designs

In addition, he said that the abundance and variety of designs would give the citizens a greater opportunity to choose. Thus, the phenomenon of reconstruction and alterations would be eliminated. Currently, the citizens turn to such measures immediately after taking possession of their homes because of the incompatibility of tastes.

#### Lower Cost

With regard to another one of the advantages provided by private sector participation in the solution of the problem, he had this to say:

[Answer] There is another important point. Let us assume that 10 companies are contributing to the execution of housing projects, and that each firm is given 500 homes to build each year. The total cost of constructing 5000 homes a year is an enormous sum, and the government's budget might not allow it to build them. However, in this case, given the participation of the companies and the private sector, it will be possible for the private sector to provide these projects over several years. Thus, it will be helping the state. This arrangement benefits the state, the companies, and the citizens.

#### The Housing Problem

[Question] What are the dimensions of the housing problem in Kuwait? On the basis of your experience in this area, what are the solutions to it?

[Answer] The housing problem in Kuwait can be summed up as the delay in the receipt of houses. This delay results from the fact that our production capacity, no matter how great it might become, is limited. However, if tasks are distributed under the auspices of the General Housing Authority or the Higher Housing Council, which could play a general supervisory role, we can solve the problem of speed. The other problem is the quality of the houses.

As a result of dependence on one party, which might be forced to hurry construction in order to meet the wishes of the citizens, there is no special emphasis. This is reflected in the behavior of the citizens when they take charge of their homes. They destroy what has been built and begin to build again. This activity is a waste of effort and money. It is as if the government had done nothing, or costs were to be doubled.

Where is the Solution

[Question] In your view, what is the solution?

[Answer] It is very important to have the citizens participate in designing their homes. It is true that the General Housing Authority has done many studies, on the basis of which the designs have been prepared and executed. However, tastes differ, even among the members of the same household. This is something natural. Let us not forget either that it is not possible for every citizen to contribute.

Proposing a Project

He added:

Therefore, the Kuwaiti Finance House has submitted a proposal and a study reviewing the progress of housing issues from the beginning. We found that the previous system consisted of "a plot and a loan."

Through the practical application of this system, problems appeared. Among them was the fact that citizens would design large houses for these plots. The cost of constructing such a home was not consistent with the value of the loan. In addition, the citizens did not know how to work with the contractors on technical and other matters. Thus, they became victims for some deceitful contractors.

On this basis, the government canceled this system and replaced it with the system of limited income and medium income. This system has also produced some problems, such as the alterations made by the citizens right after they take over their homes because of the difference in tastes and the nature of the human spirit, which loves to change things and distinguish itself from others.



## Project Specifications

[Question] What are the most important specifications of this project, and what is its character?

[Answer] The Finance House's project, which was submitted in the form of a proposal and a study, can be summarized in the following points and stages:

First of all, the General Housing Authority would reveal to us the names of about 500 persons, for example, to whom it has assigned plots in a certain area. The bank would contact those persons and offer them several housing models with similar rules and different forms and designs, so that there would be more room for choice.

## We Are Taking the Difference in Tastes into Account

In addition to that, about 50 to 100 additions to the basic design would be available. The citizens would be able to have any changes executed that they might desire. For instance, a person might choose to change the limestone façade to marble, or he might choose to install another bath. We would do these things for him insofar as the design allowed. These additions would be within the limits of the loan granted him by the government. If he wanted to go beyond those limits, he would have to do so at his own private expense.

Even if a citizen did not have the required sum, the bank could loan it to him, financing the construction in installments in accordance with standing banking procedures. After all that, the citizens would have no excuse for making further alterations and changes in their homes in the future.

## Engineering Designs

[Question] What would the proposed housing unit contain?

[Answer] The basic design of the proposed project submitted by the Finance House would consist of a building with an area of 300 square meters (this is what I say, but the matter is still being studied). It would be made up of two floors, with additions. The ground floor would hold the reception room, the dining room, the living room, a guest room, a bathroom with washing facilities, a kitchen, a second bathroom, a stairwell, and an entrance. The first floor would consist of a master bedroom, a bathroom, a dressing room, three bedrooms with a bathroom, a small kitchen, and a hall. The addition would consist of a kitchen, a storage room, a maid's room, and a bathroom. With respect to the area, both the ground floor and the first floor would have an area of 125 square meters, while the annex would total 50 square meters.

## Financing the Projects

He added:

This is the basic design. If it were constructed as it is, you would find it to be a complete and respectable house, without any other additions. The

difference is that this design agrees with the loan granted. Therefore, any other additions suggested by the citizen concerned above and beyond the value of the loan will be paid by him at his own expense. If he does not have the money, then, as I have already said, the bank will be ready to provide him with certain guarantees, in accordance with established banking procedure. The value of the desired alterations will coincide with his material situation and capability, as well as to his social position. Moreover, each citizen will make additions according to his capability, taste, and choice.

#### The Advantage of the Project

[Question] What are the advantages of this project?

[Answer] In this way, we can add alterations that are consistent with the construction law. Now, on the other hand, some citizens add the paint jobs and alterations they want, though they may violate the building law. Thus, the process is distorted, even in terms of general taste. However, the method we are following, the process is regulated and coordinated, both for facades and for other features. In addition, it is also being proposed to have coordination with the municipality, so that alterations would be allowed only 5 years after construction and within certain limits.

#### The Costs Are Less

[Question] What about the outcome of the benefits of private sector participation in solving the housing crisis?

[Answer] The process involves providing for the citizens. In addition, it involves having a specialized technical party undertake construction. In this way, costs are contained. When I build 500 houses, it is not like having each house built separately by the citizens and some contractors. The cost and price of the 500 houses will be less.

[Question] Have the concerned authorities adopted and approved your proposed project?

[Answer] In actuality, this suggestion has been submitted. It was assessed in the Higher Housing Council and transferred to a committee. The committee met with us, and the subject is still under study in the Higher Housing Council. Our entry into this area amounts to participation by the Finance House in solving the housing problem. We have not done so for investment reasons or for any other reasons. Therefore, neither we nor private sector participation in general can eliminate the role of the General Housing Authority, which must continue to build certain models. However, the citizens will have other areas of choice.

#### The Apartment System

[Question] Let us move on to another topic in the area of housing. It is the area of residential apartments. How successful is the apartment system in Kuwait?

[Answer] From my personal point of view, and on the basis of 17 years worth of experience in the construction field, I believe that the apartment system will not be acceptable to the citizens, because those who accept apartments will at the very least compare themselves with those who have acquired houses, villas, etc. Although the apartments are large and of good quality, etc., the former will at least feel that they own nothing. As for a house, one will eventually finish making payments on it and register it in one's name. A man can bequeath it to his sons. As for an apartment-dweller, he possesses his apartment as long as the building is standing, but if the building is razed, he will not own the land. Moreover, an apartment-dweller cannot expand his apartment, while the owner of a house can renew it, enlarge it, raze it, rebuild it, etc.

#### Narrow Areas

[Question] But do you not believe that the future will see vertical expansion instead of horizontal, due to the narrowness of the areas available?

[Answer] I do not believe so. Only one eighth of Kuwait's land area is being used for construction, while the rest is empty. Therefore, the tendency now is to build new cities, at al-Wafrah and al-Sabiyah, for example. This method will lead to the construction and creation of new cities and the provision of work. There will be planning. For example, the next step to be taken is not to have plots amount to 1000 square meters, as was the case in the past, but to have them be 400 or 500 square meters. This is a good area. Therefore, the next step is to reduce the area of each plot. Moreover, not all expansion is horizontal. There are many high-rise buildings (vertical expansion) inhabited by foreigners. These people make up about half the population. The other half is in houses. Therefore, many areas are available. I think that the tendency is to give apartments to families that will not grow, such as the families of widows and similar groups.

In general, it is my personal opinion that apartment projects will not find acceptance in Kuwait.

#### Workers in Kuwait

[Question] Has not the real estate and construction sector suffered recently from the lack of workers, especially enforcement of the residence measures and the recent work permits?

[Answer] We are beginning to feel this problem now, because it is necessary to regulate the workers present in Kuwait and limit their numbers. Then we have to ask whether the workers present in Kuwait are enough to implement the projects. I mean their implementation in Kuwait according to the established plan. On the basis of study, I can see whether there are enough or not. This is true with respect to all the sectors that need labor: construction, agriculture, industry, etc. Then there can be comprehensive regulation of labor in Kuwait. The subject of residence visas and labor permits has had a noticeable effect on the contracting sector, after all.

Indeed, it has had a reverse effect, since this subject has given the contractors an excuse and justification. If they are late in executing a project, they can say it is the fault of the labor shortage. This subject has also affected the scarcity of labor, and there has been an increase in wages. Let us not forget, on the other hand, that projects have become scarcer in Kuwait. This affects the workers who executed the completed projects, but, as I said, wages have risen.

12224

CSO: 4404/448

# MIDDLE EAST AIRLINES FACES LIQUIDITY CRISIS

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 373, 14 Apr 84 pp 59-60

[Excerpts] The Lebanese cabinet, which met on 3 April in its first session since the national dialogue conference in Lausanne, was not able to ignore the situation of Middle East Airlines, which has reached a critical phase. This is because the airport has been closed since 6 February, while the company's flights have been halted. The cabinet confronted the company's true situation. It has run out of liquidity and will not be able to pay the salaries of its employees or make urgent expenditures unless immediate assistance is provided, although it has reduced salaries by 50 percent.

Because the state owns a large proportion of the company's stock via its ownership of the Intra Investment Company, a halt in the payment of its salaries would mean practically that the state had ceased to pay the salaries of its employees. This would deprive the state of one of its most prominent remaining manifestations. For this reason, and on the basis of other considerations, the cabinet found itself facing two solutions. It could either grant the company a new loan that would enable it to continue for a time, or it could open the airport and allow the company to accumulate new liquidity. Since the cabinet was unable to open the airport, it agreed to grant the company a loan of 50 million pounds. The fact is that the proposal, which was put together by the Development and Reconstruction Council in coordination with the Ministry of Finance, called for granting the company a loan of 100 million pounds, to be given in two equal installments. The cabinet decided to make the loan 50 million pounds, and it stipulated that another loan of the same amount could be granted later, if the situation so dictated.

The loan was divided into two independent sections because opening the airport would relieve the company of any need for a second loan. The loan's goal is to strengthen the company's liquidity position, not to save the firm. Large sums would be needed to accomplish the latter.

The fact that the company has received this loan has left a sense of satisfaction in economic and non-economic circles alike. This is due to two considerations:

1. The loan solved a problem that had been threatening a large block of employees (about 5800) with the loss of half their salaries. This says something about the social situation in general and the situation of the private corporations that are standing at the brink of having to halt payment.

2. Though the loan is modest, it has eliminated an impression that had been predominant for several months. Many Lebanese were convinced that there was a "hidden scheme" against the company, and that there were new ideas concerning the civil aviation sector. Supposedly, Middle East Airlines was to be abolished or reduced in size, with another firm being established on the ruins. This company would conform to extant desires and meet the requirements of the current stage. The government loan did away with these fears and stopped the interactions and echoes, which had reached high levels of concerned persons.

Is the loan enough?

Naturally, a loan of 50 or 100 million pounds is not enough to save the situation of the company, whose accumulated losses are estimated to exceed 400 million Lebanese pounds. The company's president, Mr Salim Salam, said after hearing that the cabinet had agreed to the loan that this sum would be enough for the company until next August. The firm's annual expenses are estimated to be about 616 million pounds. Of this, about 400 million pounds are used for salaries and related payments. If we suppose that salaries continue to be paid at the 50 percent rate, then the company needs 200 million pounds a year, or about 16 million pounds a month. This means that the loan is enough for 5 months, since the company has other commitments beside salaries. The loan granted to Middle East Airlines barely equals the company's losses this year, which have resulted from the fact that the airport has been closed since 6 February.

In light of this, one can say that Middle East Airlines will continue to search for fundamental solutions that can save it after the loan. What ideas have been proposed in this context?

All the proposed ideas suppose as a fundamental condition that Beirut airport will be reopened, not so these ideas can succeed, but so the company itself can survive. If the state is unable to open the airport--this is hardly likely--then that will be the end of Middle East Airlines and of Lebanon as a whole. However, if the airport is opened, as may have happened already, will it be possible for Middle East Airlines to continue operating in 1984 as in the past, after all that has happened in Lebanon in the last 9 years? Will it be able to operate as if conditions after 1983 were still as they were before 1975? Is the economic situation that existed on the Lebanese, regional and international levels 10 years ago the same today? Does it make sense for Middle East Airlines to continue its operations without showing any sign of the events whose effects have appeared in every corporation and been reflected in the health, intellect, finances, and aspirations of every Lebanese?



On the basis of all these considerations and in light of the inherent complexities of the Lebanese crisis and the less than positive expectations that have been raised, one can list some of the most prominent ideas that have been devised with respect to the future of Middle East Airlines. Of course, none have been tried so far, since the crystallization of the general situation in political and security-related terms is still being awaited. Here are some of these ideas:

Account could be taken of the developments that have occurred in Lebanon, and the company's policy as a whole could be re-examined in light of these developments. Of special importance is the diminished status of Beirut as a center of business, services and tourism in the region. The company's fleet was built on the basis of the magnitude of the business done in Beirut, but this has changed. Thus, it is necessary to re-examine the company's size and make it fit its current importance in the region. Containing the company means looking again at the number of its aircraft and flights, as well as considering the reduction of unprofitable routes. Assistance could be sought from foreign concerns through what are known as "joint fund agreements". For example, if Middle East were to agree to run flights to France, it would get a share of the profits earned by the Air France flights to Beirut.

Lowering the number of aircraft and flights would bring about a comparable decrease in the number of workers and employees. Of course, the firm is suffering from an oversupply of workers. This step can be studied in detail in a manner calculated to ameliorate its social effects. The process could occur gradually, and encouraging incentives could be given to employees desiring to resign.

The search for a formula for merging with another company could be renewed, although it currently looks as if this search cannot succeed until the general political situation has crystallized.

It seems that the company has begun to take practical steps out of its awareness of these ideas. The renting of two jumbo aircraft to two aviation companies in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf is nothing but a step in this direction. The company's current efforts to sell a third jumbo aircraft will be a similar step, if they succeed.

One can sum up these ideas by saying that Middle East Airlines has been Lebanon's twin. As long as Lebanon grew, it grew, and when Lebanon contracts, it must do so as well. If the events, which are still not over, have caused Lebanon's role and economic and financial importance to decline, how can it make sense for the same thing not to happen to Middle East Airlines as well? Just as Lebanon's tourism, industry, and services have declined, so its aviation will decline proportionately. It is no longer allowable to ignore this regrettable fact or react to it in the manner of an ostrich. Rather, it must be faced.

12224  
CSO: 4404/451

REBEL SOURCES: 80,000 MORE SOVIET TROOPS

Kuching SARAWAK TRIBUNE in English 27 Apr 84 p 7

[Article by Irina Bossy-Ghica]

[Text]

The Soviet Union has recently sent more than 80,000 extra troops into Afghanistan, and is planning to airlift more, according to a leading Afghan rebel chief.

Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani, leader of the Afghan exile party "Jamiat E Islami" (Islamic Society) in Pakistan, told Reuters the Soviet military presence now amounted to more than 200,000 soldiers and advisers.

This figure, which he said was based on reports from rebel contacts within the military staff of the Afghan Army, is roughly twice as high as the 105,000 Soviet troops estimated by Western governments earlier this year.

Rabbani, on a visit to Paris, said in an interview that recent preparations for an especially large Soviet offensive reflected the more aggressive military policy of Kremlin leader Konstantin Chernenko, who he said backed massive

military intervention, whereas his predecessor Yuri Andropov had focused more on infiltrating rebel groups.

Afghanistan said on Tuesday its forces have captured the strategic, rebel-controlled Panjsher Valley between the capital Kabul and the Soviet border.

The official Kabul Radio announcement came as Western diplomats in neighbouring Pakistan told Reuters Soviet forces have begun a major spring offensive to control the valley, a rebel enclave Moscow had sought and failed to subdue six times before. The Soviet force is much

larger and stronger than in previous attacks, they said.

(They said rebel forces had struck first, destroying at least four bridges, hitting convoys and interrupting petrol supplies to Kabul, where they also staged attacks.)

Rabbani said the new spring thrust could be especially bloody since it seemed to be planned on so large a scale.

Rabbani, who represented the rebel movement at last February's Islamic Summit Conference, is based on Pakistan, where three million Afghan refugees have fled since Kremlin troops inter-

viet and Afghan soldiers.

At least 50 Soviet soldiers were being held prisoner, including an officer captured last January when rebels attacked the Turghondi border post, he said.

Admitting there had been severe problems in the coordination of rebel action, he said the slow progress of the rebels was also due to the lack of foreign support. The resistance movement relied mainly on captured arms and those provided by deserting soldiers of the Soviet-backed Afghan government.

He stressed that the rebels lack heavy equipment, especially anti-aircraft weapons.

He said the rebels which allows Soviet aircraft to operate with impunity.

He said the rebels were not confined to defensive tactics and they sometimes pushed into the Soviet Union.

He said 100 armed rebels staged a sabotage action five months ago across the border, attacking a Soviet power plant, disrupting local farming, and capturing five tanks and six trucks driven by Soviet soldiers. There have been occasional press reports that Washington and other Western governments were secretly backing the rebel forces, but Rabbani said overt U.S. support would lead to an increase in world tension.

— Reuter

CSO: 4600/566

## DEMONSTRATIONS BY AFGHANS REPORTED IN SEVERAL IRANIAN CITIES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 28 Apr 84 p 3

[Text] On the occasion of the anniversary of the 27 April Soviet-linked coup d'etat in Afghanistan, yesterday morning thousands of Afghans marched from Baharestan square and congregated at Imam Hoseyn square.

According to a report by the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY, in the course of their march--held at the invitation of the joint headquarters of Afghan Islamic groups, organizations and political parties--the participants carried signs with slogans against USSR, the United States and China. These slogans supported the Islamic revolution of Afghanistan and pictures of the martyrs of the Islamic revolution of that country--were carried. At the same time, they called for struggle against the puppet regime of Afghanistan and the occupying Soviet forces. Following the recitation of verses from the Koran during the meeting, a group of Afghan children sang the song of the uprising of the people of Afghanistan. Afterwards, two Afghan clerics spoke at length about the struggle of the Muslim nation of Afghanistan to free itself from the dominance of the occupiers and the historical inclination of the Soviet Union to interfere in countries of the region, especially Afghanistan.

Subsequently, a 12-article resolution of the marchers was read by an Afghan mujahid.

The resolution condemned the 27 April coup d'etat, the general massacre of Muslims of Afghanistan and the use of chemical bombs in Afghanistan and Iran and it stated that the only way to resolve the Afghanistan problem was armed struggle until the Russian occupiers were expelled and that the people of Afghanistan are able to determine the future of Afghanistan as their inalienable right without interference from foreign forces.

The resolution called on all Afghan forces committed to Islam, whether Shia' or Sunni, to unite in the struggle against the occupiers and expressed support for all freedom movements in the world, especially Islamic movements, and Palestinian and Lebanese Muslims--at the same time condemning the Aflaqist Saddam regime and the occupier regime of Holy Palestine. It also asked responsible officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran to create utmost possible facilities for Afghan refugees and called on the press and news media

in Iran to bring the righteous voice of the Islamic people of Afghanistan to the attention of the world.

The report by the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY that in addition to Afghan Muslim revolutionaries marching between Baharestan square and Imam Hoseyn square, Muslim Afghan groups gathered in various parts of Tehran, making speeches, reading resolutions and distributing pamphlets.

Also, Afghan in Kerman, Yazd and Yasuj marched and condemned the anniversary of the coup d'etat carried out by those Soviet-linked in Afghanistan and called for the establishment of an Islamic government in that country.

5854

CSO: 4640/219

## AFGHANISTAN

### SLOW ADVANCE BY SOVIETS REPORTED IN PANJSHER

Paris LIBERATION in French 10 May 84 p 30

[Article by Beatrix Baconnier: "Afghanistan: Slow Soviet Advance in Panjsher"]

[Text] "Panjsher VII" is the largest operation since the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. According to Western experts in Islamabad, the last Soviet offensive launched on 21 April against the main stronghold of the Afghan resistance held by Mas'ud, surpasses all the previous six ones by its scope. Eighteen days after their arrival in the south of the valley, the Soviet troupes, who were advancing slower than anticipated, were reached midway from the end of the valley. For lack of dependable news, the evaluation of the military situation remains extremely delicate.

Since the end of April the Soviet-Afghan troupes have reinforced their bases in Anawah, Bozokah and Rokhah. A Bridgehead was established in Khenj in two-thirds of the valley, where the trail begins which leads to Panjsher. According to the same sources, 200 members of the resistance, coming as reinforcement from Kunar and Kohistan, were killed on 2 May, surprised in open country by a patrol of helicopters. The Red Army tried to surround the valley, but on 2 May the passes of Kohistan and Andarab remained open.

Although since the start of the offensive several tanks and armoured divisions have been blown up by mines, the Soviet losses for the moment do not appear significant. The number of 20,000 Soviet soldiers engaged in the operation, as suggested by the Pentagon, is judged excessive by certain military experts who estimate it to be 12,000 to 15,000. The Afghan troupes killed for desertions are few. Only those commandos who were certain of themselves, namely those from Khad, a hundred or so among whom participated in the offensive, came up to the valley.

It has been a month since Jamiat-e Islami in Peshawar, Pakistan has not received any message written in Mas'ud's handwriting. Messengers have been sent to Panjsher to bring back this long awaited message, but without result for the moment. The spokesmen of the Resistance in Peshawar continue to insist that the young commander is in the valley with his men. The Western diplomats suggest that, according to them, other theories can be drawn from the rumors circulating in the bazaars of Kabul. Thus, today, the young military chief would be some 3 days walk away from his valley, in the plain of Pol-e Khumri, in the north of the country where he has gathered the heads of the Resistance operating along the Salang Pass (Kabul-Soviet border) in order to organize a new convoy military attack.



As for the Soviets and Afghan communists, they circulate the most astonishing news in the foreign community of Islamabad: "Mas'ud is probably in Pakistan, he is wounded and the doctors are treating him in a secret hideout in Afghanistan; he is in Kabul and works for the government now."

Wherever he may be, it seems that his tactic, however, used in the six previous offensives, is followed to the letter in Panjsher. The Resistance has withdrawn in the nearby valleys and upon mountain crests. They started a counter-attack, notably on the city of Bozurak, in the middle of the valley where the Soviets have installed a fortified camp.

The Soviet Command, according to the diplomats, is in for a long campaign in Panjsher. They have parachuted materials and reinforcements brought directly from the Soviet Union, and they have installed a "heavy" mechanism in the valley, where patrols come and go between garrisons established in Anawah, Rokhah and Bozurak.

If Mas'ud is silent, if the Resistance has not given up, it is probably because, they have decided, when the moment is favorable, to wager a usurious guerrilla against the troupes who have occupied their valley.

CSO: 4619/54

BUSH STATEMENTS 'OBSTACLE' TO SETTLING AFGHAN PROBLEM

LD210856 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0433 GMT 21 May 84

[Text] Kabul, 20 May, BAKHTAR--During his visit to Pakistan U.S. Vice President George Bush called at Nasir Bagh near Peshawar where one of the so-called Afghan refugee camps is located. However, that is only the cover for CIA-organised camps training gangs of terrorists for sending them to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Speaking before the Afghan counter-revolutionary riff-raff, George Bush declared without a hint of embarrassment that he is favouring a speedy settlement of the Afghan problem and the return of Afghan refugees home.

This statement made by the U.S. vice president is nothing but sheer hypocrisy. Events prove that it is the United States which is hampering the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. For 6 years already Washington has been conducting an undeclared war against that country through the hands of Afghan counter-revolutionaries. And judging by George Bush's trip to Pakistan, Washington has no intention to halt its anti-Afghan policy.

The visit of the White House's high-ranking emissary to the bandit nest and his provocative declarations serve to impede a political solution of the conflict in South-West Asia. The same purpose was pursued by George Bush when he promised bandits 14/14/million [as received] dollars of aid. That is a tiny portion of those huge sums that are being set aside from the U.S. State Budget, the CIA and the Pentagon fund for carrying out the undeclared war against Afghanistan. According to incomplete estimates, these expenses have reached a billion dollars.

As to Afghan refugees, it is Washington again that has instructed the Pakistani authorities to prevent them from returning home. That is the testimony by former Pakistani policy officer Haq Nawaz who crossed the border and asked for political asylum in Afghanistan. If refugees start an exodus back home the anti-Afghan campaign unleashed by the White House will lose many of its trump cards.

The U.S. vice president tried to make the problem of Afghan refugees and the problem of settling the situation around Afghanistan dependent on the withdrawal of a limited Soviet troop contingent from Afghanistan. Just, as it is said, tried to place a cart before a horse. The Afghan leaders have already stated

more than once that the solution of the Afghan problem amounts, above all, to the termination of the armed and any other interference in Afghanistan's affairs and to the guarantees of its non-resumption in the future. In the context of such a settlement the government of Afghanistan and the USSR will decide the question of the withdrawal of the limited Soviet troops contingent from Afghanistan. For the time being it has been deployed in Afghanistan at the request of its legitimate government just for the purpose of helping the Afghan people defend their freedom and independence from foreign aggression and the attempts to impose upon them a regime suitable to imperialism and reaction.

Thus, it is the USA's policy of state-sponsored terrorism rather than the limited Soviet troop contingent that is an obstacle to the political settlement of the situation in South-West Asia.

CSO: 4600/570

## TEXT OF BILL ON INTEREST-FREE BANKING

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 18 Mar 84 p 3

[Text] The formulation of a set of laws that would serve as a legal framework for implementation of interestless banking was an important task that lay before the Islamic Consultative Assembly of the Islamic Republic of Iran (The Majlis) since its inception. On August 30, 1983, the Majlis finally approved the bill on interest-free banking, whose full text has been translated here. The bill was ratified by the Guardianship Council (Shuray-e Nigahban) two days later on September 1. While the bill was in Majlis, training courses were devised to acquaint the bank employees with the new system, and on October 19 a Central Bank official announced that to date about 20,000 bank employees have attended such courses. Meanwhile, he said, during the probational program which was put into effect after the approval of the bill, the banks had handled over 100 billion rials worth of banking transactions in accordance with it. The bill came into full effect from January 21, 1984.

### CHAPTER ONE: Objectives and Functions of Banking System in the Islamic Republic of Iran:

#### Article 1

The objectives of the banking system are as follows:

1. Establishment of a monetary and credit system based on righteousness and justice (according to Islamic laws) with a view to systematize a correct circulation of money and credit for a healthy and developing economy in the country.
2. Working towards realization of the objectives, policies and economic programs of the Islamic Republic of Iran with monetary and credit tools.
3. Creation of necessary facilities for the expansion of public cooperatives and interest-free lending through attraction of free funds, savings, deposits and accumulations, and their mobilization for provision of conditions and possibilities of work and investment, with a view to implement paragraphs 2 and 9 of Article 43 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. (1)

4. Preservation of money value and creation of equilibrium in balance of payments and provision of facilities in commercial exchanges.

5. Provision of facilities in matters of payments, receipts, exchanges and dealings and other services which according to law pertain to a bank.

## Article 2

The functions of the banking system are:

1. Circulation of currency notes and metal coins according to the rules and regulations.

2. Organization, control and channelling of the circulation of money and credit according to rules and regulations.

3. Performance of all foreign and Iranian currency banking operations and commitment of guarantee of foreign exchange payments of the government in accordance with rules and regulations.

4. Supervision over gold, foreign exchange dealings and the important export of Iranian currency and foreign currencies, and framing of relevant rules in accordance with the laws.

5. Carrying out of operations relating to bonds and negotiable documents in accordance with rules and regulations.

6. Implementation of monetary and credit policies in accordance with rules and regulations.

7. Performance of banking activities relating to the part of approved economic programs which should be implemented through the monetary and credit system.

8. To open various interest-free loan accounts (current and savings) and long-term investment deposits, and issuance of relevant documents in accordance with rules and regulations.

9. Giving of loans and credits without interest according to rules and regulations.

10. Giving of loans and credits and extension of other banking services to legal cooperatives for realization of paragraph 2 of Article 43 of the Constitution.

11. Carrying out of transactions of gold and silver and safekeeping and management of foreign exchange and gold reserves of the country in accordance with the rules and regulations thereof.

12. Custody of rial deposits of international monetary and financial organizations and/or similar organizations and/or those affiliated to such organizations in accordance with rules and regulations.

13. Signing of agreements of payment for implementation of monetary, commercial and transit agreements between the government and other countries in accordance with rules and regulations.

14. Acceptance and safekeeping in trust of gold, silver and other valuable articles, negotiable bonds and official documents belonging to individuals or corporate persons and leasing of safe vaults.

15. Issuance, attestation and acceptance of foreign exchange of rial surety bonds for customers.

16. Rendering of services of attorney and guardianship in accordance with rules and regulations.

## CHAPTER TWO: Mobilization of Monetary Sources

### Article 3

The banks may, under any of the following heads, accept deposits:

- a) Interest-free loan deposits: (1) current (2) savings
- b) Long-term investment deposits.

NOTE: Long-term investment deposit in respect of which the bank has the power of agency for utilization for the purposes of 'partnership' (musharakah) (2), 'limited-partnership' (mudarabah) (3), 'leasing with the condition of transfer of ownership' (ijarah bi shart al-tamlik) (4), installment dealings (mu'amalat bil taqsit), 'farm leasing' (muzara'ah), 'orchard letting' (musaqat), direct investment, 'forward purchases' (mu'amalat bay'al-salaf) and ju'alah (5).

### Article 4

The banks are duty bound to repay the deposits in respect of interest-free loans (savings and current) and can also undertake, guarantee and insure repayment of the principal of long-term investments.

### Article 5

The profits obtained from activities mentioned in the note under Article 3 of this Act, shall be divided, on the basis of agreement arrived at, in proportion of time and the amount of investment deposits, taking into consideration the share of the bank resources in proportion to the time and amount in the total funds utilized in these activities.

### Article 6

The banks, with a view to attract deposits, can provide following privileges to the depositors by way of encouragement:

- a) Giving of un-fixed awards, in cash or kind, on deposits for interest-free loans.



b) Offering reduction or exemption to depositors from payment of service charges or agent's fees.

c) Granting of priority to depositors in utilizing facilities granted by bank in matters mentioned in Chapter Three.

### CHAPTER THREE: Banking Facilities

#### Article 7

The banks may, for purpose of creation of necessary facilities for expansion of activities in different fields of production, commerce and services, provide a part of capital or resources required for this purpose by way of partnership (musharakah).

#### Article 8

The banks may directly invest in production or developmental matters or plans.

The programs for such investments should be passed by the Islamic Consultative Assembly as a part of the annual budget of the state and the schemes should prove conclusively free of losses on evaluation.

NOTE: The banks are not entitled to invest in production schemes of articles of luxury or other unnecessary consumer goods.

#### Article 9

The banks may, with a view to provide necessary facilities for expansion of commerce, within the framework of the government's trade policies, provide necessary financial resources on the basis of 'limited-partnership' (mudarabah) to their clients, giving preference to lawful cooperatives.

NOTE: The banks are not entitled to 'limited partnership' with the private sector in matters of import.

#### Article 10

The banks may, with a view to provide necessary facilities for expansion of housing, resort to construction of low-cost residential units in coordination with the Ministry of Housing and Urbanization, for sale on installments, or lease on condition of transfer of ownership.

NOTE: Ownership of land by banks for construction of low-cost residential units mentioned in Article 10 is permissible according to the law governing urban land.

#### Article 11

The banks, with a view to provide facilities for expansion of industry, mining, agriculture and services, purchase movable property on the application of

the client on agreement by him to purchase for consumption or direct utilization of property or properties, and sell to the client on installments on submission of security.

#### Article 12

The banks may, with a view to create facilities for expansion of services, agriculture, mines and industries, purchase properties (movable and immovable) at the request and agreement of the client that he shall take it on lease on condition of transfer of ownership and for his own utilization, and put it at disposal of the client on lease on condition of transfer of ownership.

#### Article 13

The banks may, with a view to facilitate provision of working capital for production units, resort to any of the following activities:

- a) Purchase and sell on credit, raw material and spare parts required by production units at their request and undertaking that they shall buy and utilize the requested raw material and spare parts.
- b) Buy in advance the produce of these units, as is easily saleable, at their request.

#### Article 14

The banks are duty bound to allocate a part of their resources to interest-free loans for applicants, in order to fulfil the objectives of Paragraphs 2 and 9 of Article 43 of the Constitution. The rules in respect of the implementation of this Article shall be prepared by the Central Bank of the Islamic Republic of Iran and approved by the Council of Ministers.

#### Article 15

All agreements exchanged for the implementation of Articles 12, 13 and 14 of this act, in accordance with the contract signed between the two parties, will be considered officially valid documents subject to the standing law pertaining to legal documents.

#### Article 16

The banks may, for the purpose of providing necessary facilities for expansion of production, commercial and services sectors, resort to Ja'alah.

#### Article 17

The banks may, lease and/or share in produce of agricultural lands (muzara'ah) and orchards (musaqat) in their possession.

## Chapter FOUR: The Central Bank of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Its Monetary Policy

### Article 18

The Central Bank of Iran, which shall hereafter be called 'The Central Bank of the Islamic Republic of Iran,' will, in respect of Governmental corporations all of whose shares do not belong to the Government, undertake only those activities which come under this law.

### Article 19

The credit policy and short-term facilities (one-year) shall be prescribed on the proposal of the General Assembly of the Central Bank and with the approval of the Council of Ministers. The policy and facilities pertaining to five-year and long-term credit shall be presented to the Islamic Consultative Assembly along with the country's five-year and long-term development plans for its approval.

### Article 20

The Central Bank of the Islamic Republic of Iran may, for improving the performance of the country's monetary and credit system, use the following tools, according to the rules to be approved by the Council of Ministers, on the basis of Article 19, and exercise its control and regulation over monetary and banking affairs:

1. By fixing the minimum and maximum percentage of the share of bank's possible profits in partnerships (musharakah) and limited-partnerships (mudarabah) activities. This minimum percentage of profit may differ in different fields.
2. By categorizing various fields of investment and partnership. By fixing the minimum percentage of possible profit for selection of investment and partnership schemes. The minimum percentage of possible profit in different fields may differ.
3. Fixation of minimum and maximum percentage of possible bank profit on installment dealings, and lease on condition of transfer of ownership on the basis of total cost of a deal. This percentage may vary in different cases.
4. Fixation of the minimum and maximum percentage of bank service charges of various types (provided that it is not more than the costs of work performed), and agent's fee (haqq al-wikalah) for utilization of investment deposits received by the banks.
5. Fixation of the types and minimum and maximum value of gifts mentioned in Article 6 and rules regarding advertising for banks in various cases (mentioned therein).
6. Fixation of minimum and maximum of the amount of partnership (musharakah), limited-partnership (mudarabah), investment, lease on condition of transfer of

ownership, installment dealings, credit, forward purchase (salaf), leasing of farms (muzara'ah), letting of orchards (musaqat), sa'alah, and interest-free loans for banks and/or for each of them in every case and in different fields, as also fixation of maximum free facilities to be provided to a client.

#### CHAPTER FIVE: Miscellaneous

##### Article 21

The Central Bank with all the other banks, and the banks among themselves, are not permitted to carry out usurious banking activities.

##### Article 22

The banks may, with the permission of the Central Bank, enter into permissible banking activities with Government organizations and Government companies, or those affiliated to the Government.

##### Article 23

The amounts received as service charges and agent's fees shall be a part of the bank's income and is not divisible among depositors.

##### Article 24

Exemption from commercial and levy and exemption from taxes provided under the law for factories and production units, shall also be applicable to the banks in respect of imports or ownership in lieu of factories and production units.

##### Article 25

The units wherein the banks are share-holders, or in which they have invested, shall be subject to the Commercial Law if they do not fall under any other law.

##### Article 26

With the passage of this law, all other laws, rules and regulations contravening this law, shall be null and void; and the powers and functions mentioned in Monetary and Banking [Law] and the Act on Administration of Banking Affairs and its supplement, which have been passed on to other authorities by this law, have been taken over from the previous authorities.

##### Article 27

The Ministry of Economic and Financial Affairs is duty bound to prepare rules of procedure for the implementation of this law on the proposal of the Central Bank of the Islamic Republic of Iran and enforce it after the approval of the Council of Ministers, which should not take more than four months. NOTE: All the activities after the approval of this law and the drafting of the rules of procedure shall be done in accordance with this law. All earlier savings and

deposits shall, after the passage of this law, be changed into one of the accounts provided here within a maximum period of 18 months. All credits and loans given by the banks prior to the passage of this law shall be accorded with this law within a maximum period of three years.

FOOTNOTES:

1. The paragraphs 2 and 9 of Article 43 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran are as follows:

'(The economy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based on the following regulations, in order to achieve independence in the national economy, uproot poverty and impoverishment and fulfil growing human needs, while preserving its independence) ... Securing opportunities and possibilities for employment for all in order to achieve full employment, offering employment opportunities to all who are able to work but lack the means, making use of the cooperative system, in providing interest-free loans and other legitimate means, so that capital is not concentrated and is not circulated in the hands of specific individuals or groups, and in a way so that the government does not become a major absolute employer. These measures must be accomplished while considering the dominant need of the developing national economy in all phases of growth.'

'...Emphasizing increased agricultural, animal husbandry and industrial production in order to secure the country's needs and bring the nation to a self-sufficient state and rid it of dependency.'

2. MUSHARAKAH, Means partnership in which profit and loss is shared on the basis of percentage capital of various parties in the investment. However, according to Islamic Law, there is no restriction whatsoever on any of the parties withdrawing its capital at any time.

3. MUDARABAH, Means handing over of capital to a party to work with the money in return for an agreed share in profits or losses.

4. IJARAH BI SHART AL-TAMLIK, is leasing of a property to a party on the condition that it shall be sold to him after an agreed period on terms and conditions mentioned in the agreement of lease.

5. JU'ALAH, is a contract which lays down a fixed amount of payment for services defined in the contract to whatever party that performs them.


CSO: 4600/557

# GULF WAR: 'IMPERIALISM REMAINS CHIEF BENEFICIARY OF THIS SLAUGHTER'

East Burnham ARABIA THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 32, Apr 84 pp 8-9

[Article: "Whose War Is It Anyway?"]

[Text]

 The Gulf war enters its 44th month in April with a death toll since the fighting began of 240,000. Iran's Wal Fajr offensives, the first of which was launched in February 1983, have achieved meagre results but cost many lives.

Nevertheless, the war has moved gradually inside Iraq and Wal Fajr 5 (February 15) and 6 (February 22) enabled Iran to increase its occupation of Iraqi land, which started in July 1982. More importantly, the two offensives threatened to strangle Iraq economically by cutting off its southeastern Basra area. Having found no really effective way to shake Iran's determination to fight on, Baghdad escalated the war by resorting to chemical weapons - mustard gas and nerve gas - the use of which was prohibited by the Geneva Protocol of 1925.

Iranian reports say that 1,000 of their troops were affected by toxic gas during the Wal Fajr 5 and 6 offensives. Iran, which signed the Geneva Protocol in 1929, had claimed in August and November 1983 that Iraq had used chemical arms against its troops. It did not, at that stage, produce concrete proof. Now evidence of the use of mustard and nerve gases by Iraq has been internationally accepted: doctors treating Iranian soldiers in Sweden, Austria and the UK have testified to this.

Answering press questions in this respect, senior Iraqi officers came close to admitting the charge brought against them. General Khairallah, the defence minister, said: "To reveal what Iraq has in reserve would go against the interests of our security." The commander of the East Basra forces, Major General Hisham Salah Fakhri, went further: "You would not have wanted us all the same, to spray them with perfume..." It was only after

the issue had become an international scandal that Baghdad denied the use of poison gas and accused the Red Cross of partiality.

In a message to the United Nations secretary-general, the Iranian foreign minister, Velayati, claimed that the suppliers of the gas were "from the East and the West." Teheran named Britain as the culprit in the West; nothing was said about the Eastern suppliers. Some observers feel that it could be the Soviet Union.

The Russians are widely believed to have used nerve and mustard gases in Cambodia, Laos and against the Afghan mujahideen, and hold large stocks. Not named either is France, which has large stocks of toxic gas.

Meanwhile, press reports in Britain and CIA sources said Iraq produces the gas locally in at least two known places. One underground plant is located at Akashat, a desert area 180 miles west of Baghdad. It specialises in the manufacture of nerve gas, which is colourless and odourless and therefore extremely difficult to detect before great damage is done. The second plant, at Samawa, south of Baghdad, makes mustard gas.

As the war spread inside Iraq, the Baath leadership increasingly realised that it had exhausted its conventional means of attracting attention - including regular, intensive bombing of civilian objectives - without deterring Teheran from seeking a military solution to the conflict. Moreover, Iran's human waves have proved difficult to deal with, in spite of the heavy losses the Iranian troops have suffered. Chemical weapons present an ideal way of dealing with such close



formations of infantry.

Far from forcing Iran to negotiate, the use of chemical weapons is likely to spark vigorous retaliation. Between September 1981 and July 1982 Iranian forces mounted successful attacks during which they reconquered most of their land occupied by Iraq in its early offensives. Iranian assaults almost routed the Iraqi army, which lost 60,000 men as prisoners. If followed up, those attacks could have enabled Iran to occupy large stretches of Iraqi territory, especially in the southern sector, and negotiate from strength.

Iranian officials were, however, divided as to what attitude to adopt. Some were in favour of entering Iraqi territory, but others opposed the idea on the grounds that Iran did not aim to conquer land that was not its own.

As the war went on, Teheran's aims changed. Along with the piecemeal liberation of the strategic pockets Iraqi troops had held, news began to spread of Iranian forces moving into Iraq. Several reasons may have caused the change of attitude. The war would probably have come to an end if Iraq and its financial supporters had accepted Iran's two conditions then. These were the naming of the aggressor by an international body, and the payment of war damages.

Baghdad felt that it could drag out negotiations on war damages. However, the Iranians refused to be kept in a state of no-war, no-peace which, Teheran felt, would enable Baghdad to strengthen its economy and armed forces. This impasse led to the first hardening of the Iranian attitude. Iran then stipulated a third condition--the ousting of Saddam Hussein.

Now the war seems to have moved to the economic front, with Iran trying to stifle Iraq economically. Iraq's oil outlet to the Gulf has been shut since the start of the war. The closure of its Mediterranean pipeline through Syria has deprived Baghdad of badly-needed foreign currency. Now Iran is trying to cut off the Basra area, which is an important economic centre. This explains the desperate Iraqi counter-offensives to recover Majnoun Island, which has oil reserves estimated at seven billion barrels.

Iraq, for its part, has made several attempts to destroy Iran's oil installations at Kharg Island, through which most Iranian oil is exported.

Teheran has repeatedly warned that it would close the Strait of Hormuz if Iraq bombed Kharg Island. Iran's threat gave the conflict an international dimension, as around one third of western oil supplies leaves the Gulf through the Strait. The Americans have warned that they would react if the Strait is mined by Iran. Iraq is understood to be pushing Iran to do so in the hope that western reprisals would destroy Iran's military capability.

However, the Speaker of Iran's Majlis, Hashemi Rafsanjani, hinted last February that his country will not fall into this trap. In fact, Teheran may have another alternative. The thrust into Iraq in the Kurdistan area a few months ago indicated that if Kharg Island is attacked Iran may attack the Kirkuk oil fields in northern Iraq and destroy the pipeline now being built to export oil through Turkey. The Iranian air force, which has been used sparingly since August 1982, proved in mid-February that it can still attack deep inside Iraq.

Meanwhile the Arab League's emergency meeting in Baghdad on March 13 decided to attempt to isolate Iran. A committee is to visit Japan, West Germany and Britain to ask them to stop trading with Iran. Such a tactless and hostile stand, at a time when Iraq has used internationally-banned poison gas against Iranian troops, is bound to further radicalism in the Islamic Republic - it cannot lead to a de-escalation of the conflict. Both sides are apparently still seeking a military solution.

Who has really benefited from this war? Both the Iranians and the Arabs have failed to address this question seriously. It is clear that the original war aims of the contending parties cannot be achieved. Neither Al Dawah in Iraq, nor the Mujahadin-i-Khalqi in Iran, have the

capacity to establish a new legitimate regime. Islamic Iran and Baathist Iraq will have to tolerate each other's existence, however unpleasant this may be.

The real beneficiaries are Israel and its supporters. On a number of occasions western statesmen have said that the war serves their purposes--and both Britain and France have followed a policy of selectively supplying military hardware at crucial moments to both Iran and Iraq. Israel has been able to strike directly at Iraqi nuclear plants because of the war, and to benefit from Arab disunity, particularly in Lebanon.

The USSR has also gained from the continued conflict in the Gulf. Iranian support to the Afghan [word illegible] is now at an all-time low, and the Soviet Union has new opportunities to stir up trouble in Iranian Baluchistan and Kurdistan.

The urgent resolution of this conflict is of paramount importance to the Muslim world. So many diplomatic initiatives have failed that it is difficult to remain optimistic. Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of Muslims continue to die in the Gulf. So far, at any rate, imperialism remains the chief beneficiary of this relentless slaughter.

IRANIAN 'SUSPECTS' RELEASED BY IMMIGRATION AUTHORITIES

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 22 Apr 84 p 13

[Article by Beng Ansula]

[Text]

Immigration Commissioner Edmundo M. Reyes belied reports alleging irregularities in the release of the suspected leader of an Iranian "hit squad" and two other Iranians.

Reyes said that the order for the release of the three was issued to avoid habeas corpus proceedings that might arise from their continued detention.

He maintained that the order for their release was issued despite an existing order for their deportation because the Iranian embassy refused to provide them with travel documents.

"We cannot continuously detain these Iranians for the reason that we cannot effect their deportation due to lack of their travel documents," he said.

Earlier, some quarters at the Commission on Immigration and Deportation (CID), including the intelligence community expressed their disagreement over Reyes' decision, saying that the release of the three "compromised national security."

They said that instead of releasing the Iranians, efforts must be exerted to press for the issuance by the Iranian embassy of the travel documents.

Some CID officials, who were opposed to what they called "kid glove" policy adopted by Reyes, said that the government should assert its "sovereign right to deport aliens whom it considers dangerous and undesirable."

They claimed that the position taken by

Reyes is contrary to the existing deportation order.

Reports reaching the immigration office indicated that shortly after the release of the three last April 6, they allegedly took part in a clash with anti-Khomeini Iranian students in front of the Ramada Hotel, in Ermita.

The three, who were arrested earlier by immigration agents for "undesirability and overstaying" after the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports (MECS) revoked their student permits, are also facing criminal charges filed by their fellow Iranians before the Makati regional trial court.

They are charged with serious physical injuries, grave threats and serious illegal detention.

## IRAN

### RAFSANJANI ELABORATES ON POSSIBLE CONFRONTATION WITH SUPERPOWERS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 9 May 84 p 23

[Article: "Hojjat ol-Eslam Rafsanjani at a Meeting with Revolutionary Guard Naval Units: The Superpowers Are Looking to the Southern Shores of Sistan va Baluchestan Like Vultures"]

[Text] Naval units of the Islamic revolutionary guards met with Hojjat ol-Eslam va-ol-Moslemin Hashemi Rafsanjani, Speaker of the Majlis.

During a talk at this meeting, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi Rafsanjani told the brave men of the open seas: The formation of the Islamic revolutionary guard naval units had the same overall effect on the revolution as the formation of the guard itself.

The sea is an inviolate and sensitive place that demands a new movement. Up until now, the presence of self-sacrificing and wholehearted forces has not been tested on the high seas; the presence of revolutionary guard elements there is thus a frightening phenomenon for world imperialism. With its advanced and superior weaponry, world imperialism may be able to stand up against our arms themselves, but against your faith it is extremely weak and insignificant. Today, the seas of the Islamic republic, from (Fav) to the border of Pakistan, are in need of self-sacrificing warriors like the revolutionary guards. Thank God this need has been extraordinarily well met, and the iron footsteps of you brave men on the path of unity are preserving that long line that protects the important areas of our country. The aforementioned areas, both from the point of view of natural resources and the point of view of military strategy, are as precious as diamonds to us. In addition to that, each of our little islands in the Persian Gulf has an extraordinary value, both militarily and economically. Most important of all is the sensitivity of the southern shores of Sistan va Baluchestan, which the superpowers are watching like vultures. An old dream of access to warm waters to the south for one superpower and the terror of the emergence of a rival for the other superpower make us more aware than before of the increased sensitivity of these

areas. World imperialism has long regarded that place with greedy eyes, and has always considered it necessary to have its own military bases there to confront rivals. The Americans spent a lot of money on their military base at Chah Bahar, and America was then a source of anxiety for the Russians. The presence of the Islamic Republic is now unpleasant and bitter for both superpowers. It was for this reason that they destroyed our naval base there during the time of our former general; the next general, who was a spy, did not want to rebuild it either, because the sensitivity of that sea was clear to them.

The Imam's representative on the Supreme Defense Council then said: The forces of the revolutionary guard must wage epic battles there against Saddam's people just as they do at the fronts, and fulfill their wholehearted role. The revolutionary guard naval units must therefore be aware that they have bear a great and heavy responsibility on their shoulders. We must also say that the importance of the seashores of Khizr is no less than that of the southern shores, and the determined presence of you powerful and self-sacrificing guardsmen is felt as the presence of forces of the revolution.

While praising the brave men of the naval forces of the army of the Islamic republic, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi Rafsanjani then said: The warriors of the naval forces have guarded our country's maritime borders well, and they have employed their combat ships and boats well in battle with the enemy, but since it is possible that submarines, seaplanes, and radar may appear like succulent morsels for the criminal enemy, and since it is possible that the use of these weapons may be limited against their advanced weaponry, it is extremely necessary to have small, fast, and mobile vessels, manned by self-sacrificing personnel. The enemy cannot tolerate these, and our powerful navy will protect you militarily in these endeavors.

Referring to the role of the Japanese navy in World War II, the Speaker of the Majlis then said: During this war, the Japanese struck the sensitive parts of America's colossal ships with their small aircraft and brave pilots, diverting the ships. The Japanese fight in that war shattered America's glory, and it was because of America's impotence and insignificance against the Japanese that they resorted to the use of the atomic bomb. The same scenario is foreseeable in the Indian ocean. The Straits of Hormoz and the Persian Gulf have already created a terrifying nightmare for the imperialists of east and west, the conclusion of which cannot be foreseen by Westerners. If we want to confront them in the straits with only advanced weaponry and a few ships, their problem is manageable. What they cannot cope with is the presence of self-sacrificing forces, such as the revolutionary guard's naval unit, alongside other powerful forces of the Islamic republic and the army's naval forces.

The Imam's representative on the Supreme Defense Council then referred to another of the revolutionary guard navy's roles. He said: You must expand your forces in the area, find all the unknown and undefined routes used by smugglers to penetrate our borders, and establish security in the area with full force.

Emphasizing that the establishment of the revolutionary guard naval unit was one of the most necessary tasks, the Speaker of the Majlis said: Due to the war and other involvements, our forces have been drawn into confrontation with the Ba'thist infidels, while we undertook to establish the revolutionary guard naval unit much earlier. Even now, as we have gained the upper hand in the war, we are ready to bring this great force into existence, and as I emphasize the importance of the establishment of the revolutionary guard naval unit, I say to you that in a few years you will distinctly taste the effects and results of this holy crusade, and the Imam of the nation certainly supports the formation of such a force.

The Imam's representative on the Supreme Defense Council said: We have maritime borders equivalent to that of several countries in the southern basin of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula, and we want to be friends with them, if they wish to realize their position and understand the sensitivity of the issue.

9310

CSO: 4640/227



HAGUE TRIBUNAL REPORTEDLY ON REGIME'S BLACKLIST

Paris QIYAM-E IRAN in Persian No 88, 11 May 84 pp 1, 8

[Paris QIYAM-E IRAN in Persian; weekly published by Iranian dissidents]

[Text] These days, we should expect an explosion at the court of the Hague and the palace of the queen of the Netherlands or at least at the Dutch Embassy in Tehran.

On 25 April, Iranian radio reported: Following the violation of the Algerian communique by the United States, an important communique was published by Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi. In this communique, he seriously warned the United States that if it imposes pressure on the rule of the Islamic Republic in the international assemblies, the government of the Islamic Republic will carry out any legitimate action appropriate to the oppressive nature of the Great Satan.

The prime minister of the Islamic Republic cautiously calls the agreement signed in the city of Algiers between the fully authorized representatives of the Islamic Republic, headed by Cabinet Minister Mr Behzad Nabavi and the representatives of the United States, headed by Assistant Secretary of State Warren Christopher, a "communique" so that the grave spirit of the hezbollah nation will not question why such an agreement has been signed with the Great Satan. Let us put this aside and take a look at the warning of the ideological prime minister which has been published as a communique.

This communique, a document which attests to the stupidity, shamelessness and extreme weakness of the clerical government, after its praise for and appreciation of the taking of the members of the U.S. Embassy as hostages, which is the source of the conflict between the Islamic Republic and the United States and ultimately the Algerian agreement, most dreadfully speaks firstly of the advantages of the Algerian agreement in retrieving the rights of the Iranian nation and secondly, of the necessity to respect the principles of international law. It most

ridiculously mentions the bill which the government of the Netherlands has presented to its Parliament, which, should it be ratified, would influence the outcome of the arbitration of the court in the interest of the United States and, finally, most weakly and stupidly, it pleads with the "brother government of Algeria" to take measures to change the present situation of the international arbitration court, otherwise:

"The government of the Islamic Republic will carry out the necessary decisions to protect its financial and spiritual interests and those of the oppressed people of the world and, as has been proven thus far, the Islamic Republic will engage in any legitimate act which it finds appropriate to attain justice and, in this way, will pay any price which is necessary.

25 June 1983, Mir Hoseyn Musavi, Prime Minister."

The high ranking authorities of the regime, including Khomeyni, are aware of the course of actions of the Hague court. Since some time ago, the clerical regime has pleaded tearfully with the government of Algeria to find a way to cover up its loss of face concerning the Algerian agreement. On the other hand, the government of the Islamic Republic has recently frequently accused the Hague arbitration court of siding with the United States. However, the value of this weeping and protest is equivalent to that of the shouts of "death to America" at the Friday prayers in Najafabad. The government of Algeria, which was the mediator between the Islamic Republic and the United States in resolving the hostage issue, is unable, even were it willing, to influence in the least the implementation of the Algerian agreement. This agreement was signed by the high ranking authorities of the Islamic Republic and later ratified by the Majlis, and the Council of Guardians found no problems with it from a religious standpoint. The Algerian agreement was not signed by the monarchical regime to be said that it was the puppet of the United States, commissioned to write a deed for Iran and transfer it to the United States. However, concerning the Hague arbitration court, there is not one person in the world who would doubt the neutrality of this international supreme judicial authority or who can accuse it of being influenced. This is the same court of which, when the complaint of the government of Great Britain against the government of Iran concerning the nationalization of the oil industry was presented to it, the British judge in the court voted in the interest of Iran. In the dreadful case of the hostage taking, the leading accused is Mr Khomeyni himself. One group believes that this mad game was orchestrated from the very beginning by Mr Khomeyni. Another group contends that after the armed raid on the U.S. Embassy and the detention of the members of the Embassy, in order not to be left behind, Mr Khomeyni endorsed the action. In any case, if Mr Khomeyni had not openly endorsed the occupation of the Embassy and the taking of the Americans as hostages, the

issue would have been different. Such incidents frequently occur in other parts of the world: an armed guerrilla group occupies an embassy and takes its members as hostages and after some hours, with the intervention of the government, peacefully or violently, the issue is concluded. But, when the leader of a country accepts the leadership of the attackers and the responsibility for the attack and the hostage taking and also dismisses the prime minister and the minister of foreign affairs for their opposition to such an act, the problem is different. Of course, one cannot give the credit to Mr Khomeyni for taking the initiative. In the Middle Ages, the detention, killing and mutilation of diplomatic agents was a common custom. It often occurred that when an envoy brought a message to an authoritarian ruler, the ruler, who had become angry at the message, would cut off an ear or nose of the envoy in response and return him.

Hence, as in other cases, Mr Khomeyni's initiative was in employing an abandoned, despicable custom from the Middle Ages in the late 20th century, holding 50-some U.S. diplomats in captivity for 444 days without heeding the advice of any domestic or foreign advisors who warned him against such an action, making Iran suffer from political isolation and an economic embargo, and he finally got off his high horse when Mr Reagan won the presidential election, openly declaring that as soon as Reagan begins his duties in the White House, he would end the game of the hostage taking.

At that time, Mr Khomeyni suddenly changed his "line" and instructed the fully authorized representatives of the Islamic Republic to go to Algiers and make peace with the representatives of the Great Satan.

The Algerian agreement imposed on the Islamic Republic is a complicated legal agreement hastily made under conditions of fear and anxiety, an agreement similar to that pounded on the head of the nation and government of Iran by the representatives of czarist Russia 150 years ago with the blessing of the clerics in Golestan and later in Torkumanchay. Any school boy could understand this, but, as the leaders of the regime have confessed, despite the detailed explanations which were provided to the great imam, he merely stroked his beard and said: "Now, it is over."

The period of the captivity of the 52 Americans ended and the period of the captivity of the Iranian nation began. Mr Khomeyni, who at one time considered the shah a traitor to Islam and Iran deserving of any kind of punishment because of the ratification of exceptional regulations concerning U.S. military advisors, signed an agreement with the Americans which immediately stuffed several billion dollars of the Iranian currency reserves down the throats of the U.S. banks, and today

the remainder of the fruits of the labor of the Iranian nation must be poured into the pockets of U.S. companies because of the pledge given by his stupid servants. He has now begun to moan and cry of injustice concerning the Hague arbitration court while threatening: "The Islamic Republic, as it has proven thus far, will engage in any legitimate act which it finds appropriate and in this way, will pay any price necessary."

The reference is unambiguous: The Islamic Republic has demonstrated examples of its "legitimate, appropriate acts" in Beirut and Kuwait and the "necessary price" is the expenses for the provision and preparation of explosives in addition to a truck and a poor, brainwashed driver prepared to commit suicide for the beloved Islam of Mr Khomeyni.

In his communique, Mr Mir Hoseyn Musavi says:

"The United States blames all these defeats on Islam and the sincere followers of the imam's line who dashed its last hopes in this country by occupying the spy nest, its place of conspiracy and corruption."

The shameless cleric who sings the lamentation of the defeat of the United States in the hostage taking incident does not want to reveal what sort of defeat the United States suffered in these events. If defeat means the confiscation of billions of dollars of the national currency reserves, many powers would most likely be prepared to pocket such great sums in exchange for the occupation of their embassies.

The prime minister of the Islamic Republic knows that neither can the Dutch Parliament influence the Hague arbitration court by ratifying the bill of the Dutch government nor is the government of Algeria able to take measures to change the situation, and neither can the threats of terrorism return the lost money to the treasury of the Islamic Republic. But he finds such maneuvers and bravado to allay the public opinion of the Iranian nation--his own opinion, of course--necessary, because he and his masters have sensed well that the intelligent Iranian nation blames this great loss as well as many of its misfortunes not on the United States, but on the Islam of Khomeyni, the faithful followers of the imam's line and the government of the clerics.

10,000

CSO: 4640/233

## IRAN

### FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT TO LIBYA, CONTACTS REPORTED

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 12 May 84 p 3

[Text] Dr 'Ali Akbar Velayati, our country's foreign minister, along with an accompanying delegation composed of the Africa and Arab Nations policy director and several of our country's foreign ministry officials, arrived in Tripoli Thursday afternoon to visit the friendly and brotherly country of Libya. They were met by 'Abd al-Salam al-Tariki, director of the Libyan people's foreign relations committee, several Libyan officials, and the Ambassador and several members of the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

During this meeting, which was held in order to study the situation in the area and the international situation, our country's foreign minister delivered a message from President Khameneh'i pledging protection for the Arab Jamahiriya of Libya.

#### A Visit with the Director of the Libyan People's Committee

Dr 'Ali Akbar Velayati, our country's foreign minister, met and spoke in Tripoli Thursday afternoon with Dr 'Ali 'Abd al-Salam al-Tariki, director of the Libyan People's Foreign Relations Committee.

The ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY reported from Tripoli that during these talks, which were completely frank, our country's foreign minister proclaimed the Islamic Republic of Iran's support for Libya in the face of plots by America and its supporters. He emphasized: The movements which are being formed against Iran and Libya by America and world imperialism are very similar. During this meeting, Dr Velayati said: We are ready to give assurances to you and your country, and to announce to the world that we are at your side; in the face of these contrived scenarios, we declare that our experience with the great propaganda, military, political, and economic assaults guided by America and others is that if we stand firm against imperialist plots, they can do nothing. Our country's foreign minister added that a number of countries seeking to impose Saddam on the area

are now trying to impose peace upon us, just as they imposed war upon us. If Saddam is defeated, in reality America and the area's reactionaries will also be defeated. Dr 'Ali 'Abd al-Salam al-Tariki, director of the Libyan People's Foreign Relations Committee, while affirming brother Velayati's comments and emphasizing the solidarity between the Islamic Republic and the Libyan Jamahiriya, expressed his appreciation and thanks for Dr Velayati's presence in Tripoli. He said: Imperialists and reactionaries want to export terrorists to Libya, but we will export revolutionary ideas to them.

He added: Under present conditions, in view of the plots in the area being devised by America and the reactionaries, it is necessary that Libya, Syria, and the Islamic Republic of Iran cooperate fully in political and military planning, and in the struggle against Israel.

At the meeting's conclusion, while emphasizing the expansion of bi-lateral relations, Dr Velayati invited Dr al-Tariki to visit the Islamic Republic in the near future.

#### A Meeting with 'Abd al-Salam Jalud

Continuing his Libyan journey, our country's foreign minister Dr Velayati met and spoke for 90 minutes on Thursday with Major 'Abd al-Salam Jalud, the number two man in Libya. During this meeting our country's foreign minister proclaimed the Islamic Republic of Iran's support for its brother country Libya in the face of the plots of imperialism. He said: The two countries have common positions in relation to issues of the Middle East, North Africa, and the war imposed on Iran.

He also affirmed the necessity for brotherly traffic between the two countries and said: We believe that our nations will succeed in their struggle and steadfastness against world imperialism.

In response, Major Jalud expressed his appreciation and thanks for Mr Velayati's trip and the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran's renewed support for the Libyan Jamahiriya, especially against the recent plots which this country has faced. He said: Your coming was not for propaganda; it comes from your heart. Your presence at this time has great meaning, and Libya is honored by this step taken by the Islamic Republic of Iran.

With reference to recent events in Libya, 'Abd al-Salam Jalud said: It is clear that insane measures of the kind being taken by our common enemies, imperialism and the forces of contemporary reaction, are a sign of their weakness and insignificance. In conclusion, he proclaimed the renewed and decisive support of the Libyan Arab Socialist Jamahiriya for the Islamic Republic of Iran



in the face of events instigated by imperialism and the war which imperialism has imposed on the Islamic revolution by means of Saddam.

#### A Meeting with Colonel Qadhafi

Yesterday morning, Dr Velayati, our country's foreign minister who had gone to Tripoli at the head of a delegation, met with Mr Mu'ammarr Qadhafi, the leader of Libya.

This meeting was attended by Dr al-Tariki, Director of the Libyan Peoples Foreign Relations Committee, Mr 'Obaydi, political counsel to Mr Qadhafi, and the Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Tripoli.

During this meeting, which lasted one hour, Mr Velayati announced the Islamic Republic of Iran's support for its brother country Libya in the face of imperialist plots. He said: Relations between Iran and Libya are deep and strategic, and we must fight side-by-side against our common enemies, imperialism and Zionism. I am prepared to again declare our own support and protection for the Jamahiriya of Libya, and to show the world that the two countries have stood together, and will do so in times of trials and difficulties.

Mr Qadhafi delivered a message of peace and friendship to the officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran. He said: We are very thankful for your positions and your standing beside the Jamahiriya of Libya. Your coming has given us heart, and has been a slap in the face of imperialism and reactionaries.

He added: I stress that we are all one front against the common enemy; all of our struggles have one cause, and that is enmity with America, Zionism, and reaction. Geographic circumstances has separated us, otherwise we would be able to bring about a great change. We are ready to stand with you in your war against your enemies, and we regard a victory for you as a victory for our own people. In any case, we are far apart, but our hearts are close to each other, and our weapons are pointed in the same direction.

Continuing his remarks, he said: This measure of yours, despite your involvement with the war, shows that the war has not prevented you from doing extraordinary things.

In conclusion, Mr Qadhafi stressed the necessity for such meetings at higher levels.

## Dr Velayati Leaves Libya

Dr 'Ali Akbar Velayati, our country's foreign minister, and the delegation accompanying him, left Tripoli for Tehran at noon yesterday after a brief visit in Libya.

The ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY reported from Tripoli that yesterday morning (Friday) Mr Velayati met with Libyan leader Colonel Qadhafi, and delivered a message to him from Hojjat ol-Islam Khameneh'i.

Before leaving Libya, our country's foreign minister spoke with the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY. He said: Our visit in Libya was made in order to declare the government and nation of the Islamic Republic of Iran's support for the government and nation of Libya in its struggle against world imperialism.

## Return to Tehran

Dr Velayati also spoke briefly with the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY at Mehrabad airport concerning the results of his trip to Libya. He said: This trip was made in the wake of a series of political propaganda attacks and the onset of a psychological war against Libya. He added: Some time ago, efforts emerged against Libya, especially in the western world, which were aimed at bringing the Libyan government to its knees. The effort was intensified in order to eliminate Libya's struggle against the expansion of influence of domineering powers in Africa, Lebanon, and Palestine. Since the brunt of the attacks of Libya's officials was aimed at America, the primary supporter of aggression against the Muslims of Africa, Palestine, and Lebanon, in response America became the standard bearer of world plots against Libya.

Dr Velayati added: This delegation's journey took place in order to express solidarity with the government and nation of Libya, and in order to support their struggle against world imperialism and Zionism. He also added: During this trip, meetings were held with Colonel Qadhafi, the leader of Libya, Major Jalud, and Mr 'Ali 'Abd al-Salam al-Tariki, an official in the Libyan Foreign Relations Office, which were useful for coordinating the views of the two countries, and for consulting on various international and regional issues.

9310

CSO: 4640/232

GUARDS CORPS DECLARED READY FOR U. S. GULF PLOTS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 19 May 84 p 30

[Excerpts] Following the statements of Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the representative of the imam to the Supreme Council for Defense, in connection with the recent ungodly actions of global oppression in the Persian Gulf region, this communique was published by the Revolution Guards Corps.

With the thriving growth and expansion of the sacred Islamic revolution in the hearts of the oppressed people throughout the world, global oppression, which has fully sensed the threat to its illegitimate interests and the danger of the fall of its tyrannical rule and domination over the oppressed people of the world, started the war against Islamic Iran through the hand of the Ba'thist, Zionist regime of Iraq so that it might halt the waves of this liberating movement. Although some courageous young men and brave children of the hezbollah nation were martyred in the sacred defense of the Islamic nation and the goals of the Islamic revolution following the imposition of this unwanted war on the martyr-nurturing, Muslim nation of Iran, a great many of the resources of our country were spent in combating this aggression and retrieving the rights of the Islamic nation. However, the blows inflicted on the forces of the Zionist regime ruling Baghdad by the Islamic combatants fighting heathenism brought such defeat to global oppression that the criminal United States and its mercenary agents have begun certain mischievous acts to compensate for this defeat and prevent the final victory of the Islamic combatants in the battlefronts against the puppet regime of Iraq.

In the wake of the enlightening statements of Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the representative of the imam to the Supreme Council of Defense, during the Friday prayers in Tehran, the Revolution Guards Corps wishes to inform the nation of Islam and the Muslim nation of Iran of the following.

1. The criminal United States, with the cooperation of the Zionists ruling Iraq and other reactionary regimes of the region, is trying to spread the war to the Persian Gulf by creating a crisis situation in this region and, so they imagine, to provide the grounds for the interference of the superpowers in order to destroy Islam and the Islamic revolution.

The Revolution Guards Corps declares its readiness to employ all its defensive resources and combative forces, including the self-sacrificing guards and the brave men of the mobilization, and emphatically warns those conspiring against the Islamic revolution that should the Satanic powers ignite the flames in the Persian Gulf, the Islamic defenders will dry up the roots of the criminal United States in this region with the help of God and will turn the entire area into another Tabas.

The rulers of the United States must remember the astonishing and indefatigable power of the Islamic nation and review the experience of the defeat in Lebanon and the death of hundreds of the U.S. and French forces at the hands of Muslim revolutionaries under severe conditions and despite the presence of thousands of American, Israeli, French, and British soldiers, in order to fully understand the meaning of the cries against oppression and the slogans filled with the perception of the Islamic nation.

They must know that in the case of the interference of the United States in the Persian Gulf region, our fronts shall no longer be the west and the south of our country and the interests of all the operators of the conspiracy against the Islamic revolution shall be targets for the Islamic soldiers.

Reagan must also know that resorting to this kind of adventurism in starting wars will in no way affect the retrieval of his lost prestige. If he should interfere in the region like the previous U.S. president, he had better think about some other job than sitting in the presidential seat.

2. The grave duty of the Friday and congregational imams and the Islamic scholars throughout the world, the liberation movements and the one-billion nation of Islam, which is now being openly and secretly attacked by global oppressors, is to prepare themselves and should the United States continue to start wars in the region, to threaten the interests of Western oppression throughout the world. The Revolution Guards Corps declares its readiness for any expansion or increased activity necessary in this regard.

3. The martyr-nurturing Muslim nation of Iran, which has demonstrated its unmatched resistance, steadfastness, and self-sacrifice in the course of the revolution and the imposed the war, is preparing itself more than ever before to confront the

conspiracies designed by the Great Satan, the criminal United States, and carried out with the cooperation of its agents, with reliance on God in order to rub the nose of the war mongers in the ground if necessary so that the roots of transgression against the interests of nations, crimes, corruption and the plunder of countries will be torn out from the root.

Central Headquarters of the Revolution Guards Corps

10,000

CSO: 4640/241

IRAN

PRESENCE OF TUDEH MEMBERS IN KABUL REPORTED

GF191530 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian 1330 GMT 19 May 84

[Text] Informed circles in Pakistan say that the Soviet Union has employed several exiled members of the Tudeh Party to work in various departments in Afghanistan. These Tudeh Party members are setting up a workers' organization in Afghanistan and reviving the People's Democratic Party organization. The People's Democratic Party is the communist party of Afghanistan which according to observers, is, like the Tudeh Party, a protege of the Soviet Union.

According to the BBC, there were rumors of the Tudeh Party members in Afghanistan after the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union 4 years ago but after the Tudeh Party was crushed in Iran, the number of the exiled Tudeh Party members in Afghanistan has increased considerably. A former highranking Afghan official who has taken refuge in the West said that a number of Tudeh Party members work in the Afghan prime ministry and others prepare drafts for the official speeches. This highranking Afghan official said that he has seen at least 40 Iranians working in different departments in Afghanistan but their identity cards say they are nationals of Soviet Tajikistan. However their accent shows that they are Iranians.

Observers said that since the Afghan communists, the stooges of the Soviet Union, have no experience to carry out the plots of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union is using those Tudeh Party members who have long experience in activities of workers' organizations and have experience in espionage.

CSO. 4640/235



IRAN

# PETROLEUM MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON OIL, GAS RESERVES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 20 May 84 p 17

[Interview with Deputy Minister and Director of the National Iranian Oil Company Kheradmand by KEYHAN; date and place not specified]

[Text] Drilling oil wells, the role of foreigners in the oil industry since the victory of the revolution, Iran's aid to and cooperation with the neighboring country of Pakistan in drilling for oil and gas, the timetable for use of the refinery under construction in Arak, the plan for the reconstruction of the Abadan refinery, the production of crude oil and its export in view of the imposed war, the purchase of oil products from abroad, and the measures taken by the Ministry of Petroleum of the Islamic Republic to provide fuel needed in the country during the current year, especially in winter, were among the issues raised in an exclusive interview with Seyyed Hasan Kheradmand, the deputy minister and director general of the National Iranian Oil Company. The director general of the National Iranian Oil Company has provided explanations concerning these issues, which follow in detail.

KEYHAN: In the area of drilling oil wells, can you tell us what is needed and what is different in terms of drilling in Iran since the victory of the Islamic revolution compared to drilling in the past?

Answer: In the oil industry, generally speaking, the work is based on two things: production and distribution. Production consists of discovery, drilling, and operation. Distribution consists of "refining and distribution" and "pipelines." Also, the underground reserves of crude oil are made use of in two ways:

1. Making use of the crude oil reserves of the continental plateau. Here, because of the existence of oil boundaries and areas in common with other countries, priority has been given to the oil on the continental plateau and presently most of the

investments have been made in this area. At the present time, 250,000 to 300,000 barrels of oil are extracted daily from these areas.

2. Use of the crude oil reserves of the oil rich areas. Here as well, the production of oil in the oil rich areas of the country takes place in accordance with the allotment which OPEC has determined for the Islamic Republic of Iran and about 2 million barrels of oil are extracted and exported.

He pointed out: In the area of drilling, since the revolution, we have made significant progress. This progress was not felt very much in the first two or three years of the victory of the revolution, but recently, the national drilling company has had significant success in drilling 50,000 meters of developmental, extraction and repair wells. I should add, of these wells drilled, 15 were on land and 2 were at sea. Also, in the course of the past one or two years, the oil industry has discovered two major natural gas fields, one in the extreme northeast, called (Gonadili), and another, called Zagheh and (Chaharpisheh), in the south.

REYHAN: Previously, mostly foreigners were active in drilling Iranian oil wells. Explain the role of the foreigners in this area since the victory of the Islamic revolution.

Answer: Before the victory of the Islamic revolution, more than 40 foreign drilling companies, including (Sadko), (Sad Iran), Santa Fe, and similar companies, were in charge of the major drilling in Iran. With the magnificent victory of the Islamic revolution and the determination of the Muslim people of Iran, the employees of these companies fled and the work, in practice, fell into the hands of Iranian experts.

Hence, at the present time, the task of drilling in the oil industry is carried out by Iranian personnel and foreigners are not involved in this area.

REYHAN: The war is one of the major problems of our country at the present time. Tell us, in the area of drilling sea wells in the Persian Gulf, has the war blocked this activity?

Answer: The war has not caused us any problems thus far in terms of drilling and the production of oil on the continental platform. The only major damage which has been inflicted on us in regard to drilling in connection with the war involves the drilling platforms in the area of the border with Iraq, which, unfortunately, we have lost. As soon as the imposed war ends, we will take measures to operate and drill in this area, for which we are completely ready. It should be pointed out that except for the case mentioned, the other oil areas common to Iran and

the Persian Gulf countries are active and are not at all involved in the war. At the present time, noting the priorities for drilling and the operation of the oil areas common to Iran and Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi, we are actively engaged in work, and we are planning the installation of the Iran-Sharjeh drilling platform in the oil area of Nosrat will, God willing, to be concluded in the current year.

KEYHAN: We have learned that Iran has signed an agreement concerning drilling with our neighbor Pakistan. Please explain.

Answer: In a meeting with the authorities of the government of Pakistan in Iran, the grounds for negotiations were prepared for Iran to help Pakistan drill for oil and gas. Iran has declared its willingness in this area and is awaiting the response of the petitioning country. In addition to Pakistan, a request for aid in the form expertise came from the Turkish authorities in their recent visit to Iran concerning the exploration and drilling for oil and gas, which was accepted. Also, at the present time, the Iranian oil experts are working in Libya in the areas of production and operation at the permanent invitation of the Libyan oil authorities.

KEYHAN: Tell us, when will the work on the refinery in Arak be concluded; what percentage of the work on this refinery has been completed at the present time; and, once in operation, what will the capacity of this refinery be?

Answer: It has been one year since the preliminary work began on this refinery. The plan for studying it will be ready by the end of the current year and it will take about two years to complete the installation operations of this refinery. Hence, we hope that this refinery will be ready for operation in a total of four years. The capacity of this refinery has been determined to be 250,000 barrels per day, which we hope to increase in practice to 300,000 barrels per day after the operation begins.

KEYHAN: What is the decision of the Ministry of Petroleum in regards to the Abadan refinery? Please explain this and tell us if you have in mind to build other refineries in other areas in the future.

Answer: According to the decision of the responsible authorities of the Ministry of Oil and the numerous sessions of the board of directors, the board of directors has unanimously approved the plan to reconstruct and renovate the Abadan refinery in two stages. In the first stage of this plan, two phases have been decided upon. The first operational phase will have a capacity of 130,000 barrels per day, and in the second phase, this capacity will reach 380,000 barrels per day. In the second stage, which is the final one, the capacity of the refinery will

increase to 600,000 barrels per day. Also, in order to provide the petroleum product needs of the country, studies have been included for the construction of refineries and the expansion of the present refineries in the five-year plan of the Ministry of Petroleum.

KEYHAN: Last year, according to the statements of the officials of the Ministry of Petroleum of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the capacity of the country's refineries increased over that of the previous years. Explain how this increase took place.

Answer: Last year, the capacity of the country's refineries increased from 560,000 to 670,000 barrels per day. This increase in refining came to between 12 and 15 percent in all the refineries of the country. (Of course, it should not go unsaid that in some refineries this increase even reached 35 percent.) The increase in output of the country's refineries was achieved through use of the refinery expert cadre and through making slight changes in some of the systems of the distillation towers and by no means was a large investment made in this area.

KEYHAN: What is the situation with regard to oil production at the present time? Has the imposed war decreased production?

Answer: The production of crude oil in our country is dependent on the allotment which OPEC determines for the Islamic Republic of Iran. Also, the policy of the authorities of the country in connection with oil production is based on eliminating the currency needs of the country. For this reason, at the present time, the production of crude oil in the country is far below capacity. Also, the Ministry of Petroleum, in order to raise the output and re-drilling of crude oil in the reservoirs through natural gas injection plans, has certain programs which, if willing, will achieve results within the next two or three years. With the conclusion of these programs, the existing crude oil reserves will be raised by about 15 to 20 percent.

KEYHAN: If the unjust attacks of Saddam on the Iranian oil installations cause damage, explain how the Ministry of Petroleum of the Islamic Republic of Iran will deal with it?

Answer: In connection with damages to the Iranian oil installations, Saddam has not stopped at anything. Thank God, with reliance on divine power, the evil of the enemy has been removed from the oil rich areas, especially the Khuzestan terminal. Of course, you know that thus far about 70 to 80 Iraqi airplanes have been downed and thrown into the sea by the Iranian Air Force and security fighters in that area. At the same time, other decisions have been made to ensure that the export of Iranian oil continues.

He pointed out: In addition to the Abadan refinery being put out of order, the Tabriz and Bakhtaran refineries were damaged by the unjust attacks of Saddam. But, fortunately, with the efforts of the competent forces of the Abadan refinery, the Tabriz and Bakhtaran refineries have been repaired and at the present time, these two refineries are operating at a satisfactory capacity.

KEYHAN: In order to provide for domestic fuel, does the Ministry of Petroleum plan to import petroleum products from abroad? If the answer is affirmative, explain in this regard.

Answer: In the beginning of the imposed war, as a result of the Iraqi Ba'thists, the Abadan refinery, with a capacity of 600,000 barrels per day, which in fact provided for half the fuel needs of the country, was put out of operation. For this reason, noting the reasons for oil shortages, the Ministry of Petroleum decided to activate the existing refineries in the country and, by the will of God, this was achieved. At the present time, the refineries of the country are working at a capacity of 670,000 barrels a day, and the refining of this amount of crude oil will most certainly not meet the domestic needs. We hope that with the operation of the seventh refinery, this need will reach a minimum. But, under existing circumstances, in order to provide the needs of the country, the Ministry of Petroleum imports about 150,000 barrels of refined oil and diesel fuel, using the large resources of the special oil tankers belonging to the National Iranian Oil Company. Also, to facilitate the transportation of fuel, the production of the refineries and the import of petroleum products are carried out through the large network of pipelines throughout the country which have recently been completed. Of course, efforts are being made which, with planning, should change the consumption of petroleum products from liquid to natural gas. This is ultimately dependent on the implementation of natural gas outreach, especially in the cold and mountainous regions of the country.

KEYHAN: On the whole, in order to provide domestic fuel and eliminate the shortages in agricultural, industrial, transportation and domestic use, what steps has the Ministry of Petroleum taken and how do you view the situation with regard to the fuel in the country in the current year, especially in the winter?

Answer: The operation of the Ministry of Petroleum in connection with providing fuel needed in the country and eliminating the shortages has been very bright in the past. Removing the coupon system for gasoline, diesel fuel and engine oil and raising the ration of kerosine for families are among the measures indicating that the Ministry of Petroleum has taken effective measures to eliminate the shortages. We hope that the issue of the rationing of kerosine will reach the desired results with the coordination

between the government energy commission and the headquarters for economic mobilization in the current year. Here, it is necessary to mention the important point that at the present time, about 1 billion liters of kerosine and diesel fuel, 750 million liters of gasoline, and significant amounts of motor oil are available in reserve in the petroleum warehouses of the country.

10,000

CSO: 4640/243



## FVOI COMMENTS ON REGIME'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM

GF210712 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian 1500 GMT 20 May 84

[Excerpts] According to a report by the Free Voice of Iran, with the opening of the Tehran seminar on industrial output and the speech of the head of the Atomic Energy Organization of the Islamic Republic at the opening of this seminar, some of the observers in the capital of our country have started secret whispering.

Our correspondent in Tehran has reported that observers believe that the aim of the Islamic Republic in pursuing the atomic energy project is not to acquire electric power, but to acquire advanced nuclear weapons. The same specialists say that in an earlier speech, the head of the Atomic Energy Organization of the Islamic Republic, Engineer 'Abdollahi, disclosed that the Khomeyni regime does not recognize the International Atomic Energy Commission and is not bound by its rules and regulations. We may remind you that on 5 May Reza 'Abdollahi gave a radio television press conference in Tehran, during which he denied all the rumors about efforts of the Khomeyni regime to acquire atomic technology. However, he stressed that the Islamic Republic is ready to join a (?police) organization so that it can look into the arsenals of the big countries. He added that this organization should be located in a Third World country and that this country should also belong to the nonaligned community. In other words, he meant to say that since the Islamic Republic has not acquired atomic weapons, it will not let the International Atomic Energy Commission inspect its (?energy) programs [words indistinct]. The rumor that the Khomeyni regime will acquire the atomic bomb within the next 2 years was contradicted by the head of the Organization of Atomic Energy of the Islamic regime when he postponed this acquisition for about 5 years.

The correspondent of the Free Voice of Iran added that while the liar and anti-national regime of the mullahs has all resources of the country in its hands, it is our national duty to inform the people in Iran, especially our compatriots in (?Bushehr), of the treacherous and criminal plans of the mullahs who are dragging Iran toward a big atomic calamity. It should be noted that the Bushehr atomic energy station was founded during the regime of the late (?Shah). It was meant to produce atomic energy for peaceful uses and to meet the shortfall in electric power because most of the regions of Iran are suffering from lack of water. The southwestern part of the country is also facing a shortage of water required to run its various installations, and the electric power produced there is much less than what the country needs.

Keeping in view the fact that the Iran of the Shah complied with all the international laws and regulations and the intention of the past regime was also for peaceful uses of the atomic energy, and also keeping in view the fact that the head of the Atomic Energy Commission of the Islamic Republic has never said that the Khomeyni regime will not manufacture nuclear weapons, the fact remains that it is determined to reject all the international laws and show indifference to world opinion.

Thus, it is becoming clear every day that the criminal regime of Khomeyni, by (?condemning) the Shah of Iran, has diverted the development plans of the past regime to the warmongering policies of its own, which will result in nothing but the bombardment of Iran with the cooperation of all the forces of the East and West and the regional powers. It would be very easy to shell the Persian Gulf port of Bushehr, where construction on the atomic power station began during the past regime. Now the only difficulty is that mullahs cannot make the necessary (?fuel) for the reactor and thus, they cannot manufacture enriched matter for manufacturing an atomic bomb. [Passage omitted]

CSO: 4640/236

## BRIEFS

CLASHES AMONG CANDIDATES--It has been reported in Paris that 60 persons in Tehran and 45 persons in Mashhad and other districts have been arrested in connection with the Majlis elections. Circles close to liberation movement said in Paris that some supporters of the liberation movement are also among those arrested. Another report says that on the day of the made-to-order elections in Shahrud City there were widespread demonstrations against the Khomeyni regime in which a guard was killed and several wounded. The same day in most of the cities of Mazandaran, fierce clashes occurred between the supporters of the Hojjatiyeh sect and the Islamic Republican Party in which several ballot boxes were stolen. In Tabriz also there was a clash between the macebearers of (Ebrahimi), a candidate of the Islamic Republican Party, and Rahmani, an independent candidate. [Text] [GF192020 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian 1330 GMT 19 May 84]

EXECUTION OF PRISONERS--Four hundred prisoners have been executed in Evin Prison. According to Persian language papers published abroad, on 1 May, which is the international labor day, 400 political prisoners were put in front of firing squads in Evin Prison by the executioners of the Islamic regime, thus adding another page to the already thick file of innumerable crimes of the Islamic regime. According to another report in the same paper, on 2 May, 10 political prisoners were shot dead by the mercenaries of Khomeyni in Shiraz. According to our reports, the regime has refused to hand over the bodies of the executed prisoners to their families. [Text] [GF211722 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian 1330 GMT 21 May 84]

WOUNDED GUARD SAID DEAD--As you remember, following the report by us concerning the assassination attempt against Hashemi-Rafsanjani, which led to the wounding of two of his guards, the officials of the Tehran regime denied this report. Our Tehran correspondent again repeats the report, adding that 3 days after the event one of the wounded guards died in [the] hospital. His name was Esma'il Reyhani. His father, Reza Reyhani, has become mentally disturbed after the death of his son. Apparently he was walking in the streets of Tehran and loudly insulting Khomeyni and Rafsanjani. He was recently sent to a mental asylum in Tehran by the guards corps. [Text] [GF221328 (Clandestine) Radio Nejat-e Iran in Persian 1630 GMT 21 May 84]

SIND MOVEMENT DUBBED PATRIOTIC BY AHMED SOOMRO

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 27 Apr 84 p 9,18

/Interview with Ahmed Mian Soomro, chairman of Sind Tahrik-e Istiqlal, by Ashraf Chath in Lahore; date not specified/

/Excerpts/ Mr Ahmed Mian Soomro, chairman of the defunct Sind Tahrik-e Istiqlal, belongs to a famous political dynasty of Jacobabad. His father, Haji Maula Bakhah Soomro, was a consultant on political affairs to the present government and his younger brother, Ilahi Bakhah Soomro, is the federal minister of industry. Mr Ahmed Mian Soomro has long experience in parliamentary procedures and was the deputy speaker of the Western Pakistan assembly during the Ayub era. He is a well-known attorney in Sind and was interviewed when he visited Lahore in connection with his legal practice.

/Question/ Mr Soomro, what are your impressions about the recent political campaign in Sind?

/Answer/ In my opinion, it was a very successful campaign to establish democracy. This campaign brought a political awareness to people. This campaign cannot be called unsuccessful just because it was forcibly crushed. I believe this was a nationwide movement and was supported by people from all provinces, hundreds of whom went to jail.

/Question/ How true is the accusation that this campaign was supported by foreign agents? A lot of questions were raised when Mrs Indira Gandhi issued a statement supporting the campaign. Will you please explain this?

/Answer/ We should remember that whenever a movement to establish democracy was started in our country, the government blamed external involvement. These accusations later were proved wrong. This campaign for national unity is being labeled antinational even though there is no external interference. Were there foreign involvement, this movement would nothave been suppressed so easily. Therefore, I believe that this accusation is baseless.

/Question/ Is it not true that some landlords and property owners in Sind, who have never participated in any movement, jumped into the arena on instructions from U.S. senators and diplomats?

/Answer/ First of all, let me explain that land ownership was banned in Sind in 1959 under section 64 of martial law. There are no landlords there. There is a difference between landlords and farmers. The land is owned by farmers not by landlords. The landlords in Sind gave up most of their land to the government when agricultural reforms were implemented. During the Ayub era, landlords were paid a trifling 5 rupees per unit of land. This land was distributed among farmers at three or four times its cost. During the Bhutto era, under section 115 of martial law, landlords had to give up their land without reimbursement. In 1977, land ownership by an individual was reduced from 12,000 units to 8,000 units. Only 30 rupees per unit were paid to landlords. I would say that Sind's landowners joined forces with people to fight for their rights. They did not need any instructions from outsiders. All these accusations are baseless.

/Question/ Some Sind leaders have raised slogans about a confederation. What is your opinion about this? Are you satisfied with the provincial autonomy provided in the 1973 constitution?

/Answer/ I think the slogan about confederation resulted from the feeling of deprivation created by 6 years of martial law. The purpose of such slogans is to inform other provinces that their basic rights are being suppressed. These slogans will automatically cease when the rights included in the 1973 constitution are given to the provinces. On the other hand, if people are suppressed continually, their attitude will take a turn for the worse. The present government has forced unbelievable conditions on people. Our countrymen do not know what will happen tomorrow. The 12 August plan does not clarify what kind of elections will be held and what role there will be for political parties. As for the rights of the provinces, I believe that if our government wants a unity of provinces, it must assure protection of their rights. To satisfy people in the smaller provinces, the government should federate only four departments, as demanded in the charter of Takrik-i Islami. These departments are defense, currency, foreign affairs and communications. The remaining departments should be left to provincial governments so that the people can make their own decisions. I believe that this is essential for our country's ability and unity.

/Question/ How true is the statement of the federal defense minister that Sindis have been given an appropriate quota in the armed forces? Also, the fact that the present government is the first to establish a Sind regiment?

/Answer/ No quota has been reserved for Sindis in the civil or armed services. The so-called Sind Regiment exists in the government's mind

only. Actually it is staffed by people from the backward districts of Punjab, such as Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Attock. The quota for Sindis in the civil services is also limited and is the main cause of the feeling of suppression. Even the chief secretary of Sind is not a Sindi and only half of the provincial secretaries are Sindis. As for the police, more than half of the station head officers, assistance subinspectors, constables and assistant superintendents of police are nonSindis. In other provinces, local people are given these positions. Why is this practice not followed in Sind when there is no dearth of capable and qualified Sindis?

/Question/ Will you please comment on the recent transfer of Sind's governor?

/Answer/ What difference does it make? There can be no change when one military general is replaced by another military general as governor. The government is still the same. The previous governor, Abbasi, did not even meet with Sindis. People had begun to believe that this is not their government, and this government has no knowledge of their problems.

/Question/ What stand will you take if the coming elections are held on a nonparty basis?

/Answer/ I do not consider elections held on a nonparty basis as democratic elections. They might just as well select people of their choice for the Majlis-e Shura. Taxes collected from people are being showered on these chosen officials. The government declares people with political ties as unsuitable to run in elections and, at the same time, includes them in the Majlis-e Shura. If the government is intent on holding elections on a nonparty basis, the question of political parties taking part in elections does not even arise.

/Question/ What is your impression of the efforts to unite political parties?

/Answer/ The more political parties unite on a single platform the stronger the movement for establishing a democratic system will become. In my opinion, a political party that believes in democracy is a real political party; other parties are not real political parties. To establish democracy, all political parties must unite.

/Question/ Recently you met with Air Marshal Asghar Khan, leader of your political party, at Abbotabad. What are his thoughts about the political atmosphere of the country?

/Answer/ Air Marshal Asghar Khan thinks that our country's unity is in grave danger if elections are not held soon in accordance with the 1973 constitution. He believes that the present crisis can be solved by leaders elected by the people. Power must be transferred to



representatives elected by the people. The government, however, has jailed Air Marshal Asghar Khan, Nawabzada Nasrulla Khan and Miss Benazir without benefit of a trial. This is anti-Islamic and grossly illegal act.

/Question/ What would you say about the plan to move offices of Pakistan International Airlines, Civil Aviation and the Airport Security Force from Karachi to Islamabad?

/Answer/ I believe that moving these offices from Karachi to Islamabad will only aggravate the feeling of deprivation felt by Sindis. These offices should not be moved from Karachi to Islamabad.

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CSO: 4656/145

SIND GOVERNMENT BANS MRD CONVENER FROM PROVINCE

GF191121 Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES In English 19 May 84 p 1

[By Correspondent]

[Text] Islamabad--The Sind Government yesterday externed opposition leader Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan from Karachi before he could begin his tour of the province.

Externment orders were served on Mr Nasrullah at Karachi Airport on Thursday night immediately after his arrival from Lahore. A strong police party whisked the convener of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy to the VIP lounge as he emerged from the plane while several thousand MRD workers waited outside the terminal building to give him a big welcome, MRD sources said here.

Mr Nasrullah was kept in the lounge for about 4 hours and was then flown back to Lahore early yesterday morning.

MRD sources said Mr Nasrullah had planned to visit Karachi and some major towns in the interior of Sind where the MRD agitation was most effective during the anti-government protests last year. This was his first visit to the province after 3 years of detention.

The disappointed MRD workers shouted anti-government slogans outside the airport building when they learned that Mr Nasrullah was not being allowed to come out, according to MRD sources.

During his tour of Sind Mr Nasrullah was scheduled to meet MRD workers, address bar associations and meet families of MRD workers who had died during last year's agitation in Sind.

He also planned to meet political leaders outside the MRD fold including Pir Pagara of the Muslim League, Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani of Jamiat Ulema Pakistan and Prof Ghafoor Ahmed of Jamaat-e-Islami.

Mr Nasrullah has been banned from entering Sind Province for the next 3 months while a similar entry ban imposed by the Baluchistan Government 3 years ago has been renewed at regular intervals and remains effective.

The MRD convener was released from detention at his house in Khan Garh on 27 April and has since then visited several Punjab towns including Multan, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Sargodha. He presided over the MRD Central Committee meeting on 7 May and 8 May after the meeting elected him convener for the next 3 months.

Mr Nasrullah addressed the Sargodha Bar Association on Thursday and strongly denounced President Ziaul Haq's 12 August election plan as a blueprint for perpetuation of dictatorial rule.

Mr Nasrullah criticised the government ban on political reporting in the press which came into effect on 9 May, and observed that the Zia regime was afraid it could not carry the nation on its 12 August programme.

Meanwhile the MRD Central Committee is meeting in Peshawar on 28 and 29 May to discuss the latest political situation in the country.

CSO: 4600/572

## PAPER ON TURKISH PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT

GF212012 Karachi DAWN in English 16 May 84 p 7

[Editorial: "Friendship with Turkey"]

[Text] The Turkish prime minister's visit to Pakistan has helped focus attention on this country's bilateral ties with Turkey. It needs hardly be pointed out that these relations are of long-standing and are based on common historical experiences, cultural traditions and religious bonds which have formed the basis for strong ties of friendship between the two nations. Moreover, their similar perception of international developments which affect the peace and security of the Middle East and South Asia and their mutuality of interests in many areas, have deepened the understanding between them. They tend to adopt similar positions on major world issues as reflected in joint communiques issued on previous occasions. The convergence of the views of the two sides on Afghanistan, the Middle East and the Gulf war needs no confirming. In their banquet speeches the leaders of the two countries spoke quite clearly about the need for a cease-fire in the Gulf, the dangers of Israel's expansionist policies and the importance of withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan. Pakistan's position on the Turkish Cypriot Republic also underscores its support and friendly sentiments for Turkey.

It was, however, in the field of economic cooperation that President Zia Ul Haq and Prime Minister Ozal took more tangible measures. The fifth session of the Pakistan-Turkey joint commission, which had opened in Islamabad 2 days before Mr Ozal's arrival there, concluded on a happy note after drawing up a protocol for economic and technical cooperation. The commission identified the areas in which joint ventures could be set up and Mr Ozal specifically spoke of collaboration in the manufacture of tractors, agricultural machinery, auto parts and electronics. But the most encouraging aspect of the negotiations between the two countries is that they have decided to concentrate on building up infrastructural facilities such as shipping, air services and telecommunications. This is a sensible policy, for in the absence of these basic facilities moves to step up trade and joint ventures cannot make progress. This is evident from these countries' past experience. In spite of their firm determination to establish close economic links, Ankara and Islamabad have failed to do so over the years because this fundamental aspect of the matter was never fully appreciated. The shipping service which has been established to connect Pakistan with Turkey, the telex system between them and the banking facilities available

to their traders are markedly inadequate. By expanding these services, the two governments should be able to stimulate joint economic activities. Another significant decision was the one regarding follow-up action. It has been found that on many occasions a decision taken by the joint commission has not been implemented. Joint ventures which have been agreed upon have failed to get off the ground. The six-member committee set up to monitor joint industrial projects should be able to ensure that these undertakings are not unnecessarily delayed.

An area of special interest to both Pakistan and Turkey is trade which they have sought to promote since 1964 when the RCD [Regional Cooperation for Development] was set up. In the absence of the basic infrastructure facilities and given the level of development of their economies, it is not surprising that the volume of trade has not grown substantially. With trade exchanges totalling Rs 371 million last year, Turkey and Pakistan have much scope to expand their imports and exports. Another weak spot in their pattern of trade has been the heavy imbalance which has been growing from year to year. In the last 2 years, Pakistan was not able to export to Turkey even a quarter of what it imported from there. In 1981-82 the deficit amounted to Rs 222 million. It went up to Rs 240 million last year. By extending to Pakistan a revolving credit facility of 50 million dollars, Turkey has taken an important step towards expanding trade. But the imbalance can be expected to grow even further. This aspect, one hopes, will be properly looked into on our side.

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'SUBSTANTIAL OIL' FOUND NEAR HYDERABAD

GF211401 Karachi DAWN in English 15 May 84 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, 14 May (APP)--Substantial oil has been struck at Tando Alam, 20 kilometres southeast of Hyderabad. Dr Mohammad Asad Khan, minister in charge for petroleum and natural resources, announced here today.

Addressing a news conference, he said, it was [the] fifth significant oil discovery during the last 8 months. Earlier, the oil exploration was made at Dakhani, Dhurnal, Leghari and Golarchi, he added.

He said the initial tests at Tando Alam have yielded 2,200 to 3,000 barrels per day of superior quality oil at the depth of 8,200 feet.

The oil bearing structure has three pay zones. The oil has been discovered from the first zone, while the production testing of the remaining two zones will be continued, he added.

Dr Mohammad Asad Khan describing the new oil discovery at Tando Alam a happy news for the nation, stated that it has greatly enhanced the chances of finding new oil and gas deposits in vast sedimentary areas with similar geological conditions located in Hyderabad, Sanghar, Nawabshah, Khairpur and Tharparkar districts.

Giving details of new oil exploration, he said, the Tando Alam structure was a sub-surface feature. It was delineated by Oil and Gas Development Corporation (OGDC) after extensive geological and geophysical survey. The structure has an aerial extent of 20 sq kilometres.

He said, the OGDC started drilling of the exploratory well at Tando Alam by using its own rigs and completed it at a depth of 8,200 feet in lower ground formation of cretaceous age. Based on the results of geological information, well logging and drilling data, three zones have been selected for production testing. The production testing of the first zone in interval 7,091 feet to 7,150 was started on 12 May 1984. The success was achieved after 104 days of drilling, he added.

In reply to a question, Dr Asad said that a present oil production in the country was 15,450 barrels per day while the daily consumption was around one lakh.



Answering another question, he said the government was mobilising all available resources for stepping up gas and oil exploration in the country. Short and long-terms programmes have been made to make the country self-sufficient in these products, he added.

He said, many incentives have been floated to attract the foreign investments for the exploration of the oil-bearing structure.

He expelled the impressions that past announcements about the oil discovery were based on speculations. He said, oil drilling at Khurnal, Leghari, Golar-chi and Dakhani produced significant results.

In reply to a question, Dr Asas said that indication of oil production between 2,200 and 3,000 barrels at Tando Alam was the result of 3 hours' test. The exact quantity of production could be determined after undertaking more tests.

Asked about the measures to conserve the available energy resources, he replied that the government has worked out a general policy to save the energy wherever it could be possible. However, he added, energy consumption for development purposes could not be curtailed.

Replying to a question regarding Dhodak oil field, the minister said steps were underway to urgently put this field on production. 'The tenders received from some international agencies to take up the job were being evaluated and decision in this regard would be made in a couple of weeks.

To a question, he said negotiations with some foreign companies were going on for undertaking offshore oil exploration in the country.

CSO: 4600/572

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

RICE EXPORT TARGET EXCEEDED--The rice export target of \$380 million set by the government for the rice exports in the current year has been exceeded. Radio Pakistan's representative says 1.15 million tons of rice worth about \$400 million have already been exported. [Excerpt] [BK220539 Karachi Domestic Service in English 1005 GMT 20 May 84]

ECONOMIC AGREEMENT WITH PRC--Pakistan and China today signed in Beijing a protocol to further promote and consolidate the economic cooperation between the two countries. The protocol specifies areas and projects in which such cooperation will be further promoted and consolidated. It was signed by the finance minister, Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan, and the Chinese first vice minister of foreign economic relations and trade [title as heard], Mr Zheng Tuobin, following the 3-day meeting of the Pak-China Joint Ministerial Committee on Economic, Trade, Scientific and Technical Cooperation. The leaders of the two delegations expressed satisfaction over the efforts made by the two countries to further develop bilateral economic and technical cooperation. The third session of the joint ministerial committee will be held in Islamabad next year. [Text] [BK211203 Karachi Domestic Service in English 1005 GMT 21 May 84]

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